University of Alberta

Religious Disaffiliation of the Second-Generation from Alternative Religious Groups

by

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Abstract

This thesis closely examines second-generation defection from alternative religious groups, specifically using autobiographies focusing on the Children of God/The Family, the Rajneeshees, the Unification Church (Moonies), the Great White Brotherhood/The Family (Anne Hamilton-Byrne), the New Age Movement (Tompkins), Hindu Mysticism (Paul Brunton), and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (early Mormonism). First, I use grounded theory methodology to investigate factors pertaining to why second-generation members stayed as long as they did, and why they left. Second, I frame my analysis within the 'apostate debate' literature, and assess whether apostate accounts are reliable sources, specifically regarding their allegations of child abuse. Third, I generate a new Four Factor Model of Second-Generation Defection from Alternative Religious Groups, and test it against the Hare Krishnas. Fourth, I provide recommendations for future research using my generated theory.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Research Approach

Introduction to the Study

The explosion of alternative religious movements in various periods of modern history has entailed new and often exotic groups recruiting young adults into their ranks, and many of these converts became parents while they were members or already had young children at the time that they joined. Initially, these alternative religious groups did not have formal child-rearing policies, but new policies emerged in response to growing second-generation membership. This 'second generation' became old enough to choose whether to remain in or leave their respective sects. First-generation defectors have had their experiences heard, for example through autobiographies (for example, Davis with Davis: 1984; Williams: 1998). Second-generation ex-members also have spoken about their experiences of sectarian[1] life, but have generally received little attention from researchers. One problem for academics is that the voices of the second-generation have been spread across numerous mediums, none of which to date has been systematically identified and analyzed. The goal of this thesis, therefore, is to provide an initial analysis of second-generation book-autobiographies, suggesting common themes for second-generation defection from alternative religious groups.

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[1] For variation, I also use the term sect or sectarian to refer to alternative religious groups. I occasionally use the term 'cult' when it is the predominant nomenclature in the literature, specifically when discussing the 'apostate debate.'

For alternative religions that sprang up in the West during the 1970s, rates of membership are not expanding as they once were. Consequently, retention of the second-generation is crucial for group survival. From a logical standpoint, children raised and socialized within the sects should become ideal members in adulthood. Having not achieved 'mainstream' status and extensive adult conversion, alternative religious groups depend on successful socialization of the second-generation. The defection of second-generation members thus threatens survivability of the sects to which they had belonged. Focusing on second-generation autobiographies of former sect members is a first step in identifying themes leading to defection, countering the assumption of successful second-generation socialization.

When discussing, however, accounts by second-generation former members, one encounters questions that some scholars have raised concerning accounts by former first-generation members. These questions relate to the issue of apostasy. In essence, do people who have rejected previous faiths tell the truth about their lives as members, or do they embellish and distort their accounts in order to enhance their status as ex-members and justify their previous involvements?

Cult sympathizers accuse many critical defectors of inventing 'atrocity tales' to gain sympathy, to absolve themselves of negative actions as members, or to invent abuses for monetary compensation (Langone, 2000: 83). The arguments of cult sympathizers, however, have focused on first-generation former members.

By focusing on second-generation former members, my thesis makes a unique contribution in assessing the claims made by both cult sympathizers and cult critics. In contrast to cult sympathizers, researchers who are critical of 'cults' are wary of trusting members remaining in the sect, as "the only view expressed is the official view" (Ayella, 1993: 113). Children and adolescents are an especially vulnerable population, "because children are usually unable to defend themselves against the possibly destructive impact of their parents' cult affiliation" (Halperin, 1989: 76). Some scientific studies have focused on documented abuses suffered within some alternative religious groups (Freckelton: 1998; Halperin: 1999; Ireland & Ireland: 1994). Allegations of child abuse, however, are a major factor in second-generation defection accounts.

Defection accounts authored by second-generation ex-members directly address motives for young people leaving their respective sects, and these motives may differ considerably from ones that academics would ascribe to them based upon pre-existing theories about apostates. This thesis is distinctive because it uses these second-generation 'voices' to explain reasons for defecting from their respective alternative religious groups. Almost all current literature on defection focuses on first-generation experiences.

Operational Definitions

In selecting the sample of defectors' autobiographies that I examined, I followed a strict operational definition of the term "alternative religious groups." For the purpose of this thesis, I use Stephen J. Hunt's definition of alternative religion: “a generic term designating a vast range of religions that do not constitute mainstream Christianity [or other historic faiths]” (2003: 257). The term ‘alternative religion,’ therefore, “arbitrarily distinguish[es] between mainstream, established religions and movements which are alternative to the mainstream” (Barrett, 2001: 24). The distinction depends “partly on an intuitive and individual understanding of what is generally socially acceptable as ‘standard’ or ‘normal,’ and partly on how far the beliefs of a movement have changed from the spectrum of ‘mainstream’ beliefs within the parent religion” (Barrett, 2001: 24). By using the term ‘alternative religious groups,’ I eliminated the pejorative and biased meanings of both ‘cult’ and ‘new religious movement.’[2]

The term ‘second-generation’ also requires precise definition. Does it include all children within an alternative religious group? Does it encompass anyone born into the group after the first-generation? Does it include children brought into the group by first-generation members, or are those children first-generation? What about adults brought into the fold by first-generation members? My operational definition of ‘second-generation’ includes:

1. Children born into the group, with one or two biological parents being first-generation members.
2. Children brought into the group while still children (ie. joining the group with their parent[s]).

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[2] For further discussion see Langone: 2000.

3. Children adopted by the group, with only one generation preceding them as members.

The second-generation, therefore, represents the alternative religious groups' first experiences in socializing children.

These two operational definitions exclude some people who grew up in sects. For example, it excludes Debbie Palmer and David Perrin's (2004) account of growing up in the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints from this study, since she would be a third-generation member (her parents fitting the definition of second-generation). Deborah Davis's (1984)[3] account of growing up in the Children of God/The Family also does not meet the criteria for second-generation. Although Davis's father, David Berg, was the charismatic leader of the Children of God/The Family, I consider Davis to have been first-generation because she was an adult when the sect formed, and was similar in age to the first-generation converts. The Children of God/The Family, therefore, did not socialize Davis *from childhood* into its norms and culture.

The specific focus of this study is second-generation defectors' autobiographies. These are book-length studies written by persons who fit my definition of having been within the second-generation of an alternative religion. Only one autobiography of second-generation alternative religious group

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[3] Since Davis with Davis (1984) is Deborah Davis's autobiography, I use 'Davis' to refer exclusively to Deborah Davis, and not her husband Bill, who co-wrote it.

continuing membership exists (Shabazz & McLarin: 2002).[4] I also excluded second-generation biographies (i.e. written by outside authors) from the study, since they complicate the question of who is actively 'in charge' of recounting second-generation experiences. By focusing on direct second-generation authorship, I can be very clear about whose voice is speaking.

Literature Review

Literature on second-generation retention and defection generally provides only brief statements about these issues, and therefore is limited in its applicability to alternative religious groups. This section provides an overview of defection literature, firstly through classical theorists, and secondly through contemporary researchers. The literature review addresses second-generation defection from three perspectives: political, psychological, and religious.

Second-Generation Defection in Socio-Political Context:

In discussing commitment to religious groups generally, Max Weber described how psychological sanctions hold individuals to the religious group (1920: 97). No social psychologist, however, has attempted to measure how specific psychological sanctions impact second-generation retention, although one sociologist (Rodney Stark) has offered a list of factors necessary for group survival. Included in the list of factors is successful retention of the second-generation, yet Stark does not specify how alternative religious groups hold on to its first wave of children (Stark: 1987). Stark's list of factors for sect survival underlines a major omission in the literature — researchers usually focus on retention and defection of first-generation converts, but neglect to examine the same processes among their children.

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[4] I eliminated this autobiography from the sample because of its focus on the political implications of growing up in the Nation of Islam, and not on the group's child-rearing practices. Additionally, this thesis focuses on reasons for defection, not retention.

The impact of an alternative religious upbringing is a vital topic for study, since religion impacts children's "sense of self and the world for the rest of their lives" (Greven, 1977: 153). Lewis Feuer (1969: 173), for example, wrote of the conflict of generations by indicating, "the young are ashamed of the old and want to avoid the emasculation which the traditional society inflicts on its members." As such, (what Feuer called) ordinary, mainstream, traditional societies generate inter-generational revolt (Feuer: 1969). Transferring this perspective to alternative religious groups, it would then seem to indicate that rigid, harsh groups will have difficulty for sustaining membership. Consequently, alternative religions that remain static would result in loss of membership. An issue, however, that limits the application of Feuer's insights to alternative religious groups is that these groups already are (in varying degrees) challenging the status quo. It is unclear, therefore, how Feuer's perspective on generational conflict applies when the older generation itself already is challenging societal conventions.

Furthermore, second-generational issues are tied to questions of social power. For example, Richard Braungart and Margaret Braungart (1984: 349) discuss "factors that promote as well as inhibit age-group differences in politics." The factors outlined in generational politics (such as socialization and what developmental psychologist Albert Bandura called 'social learning') likely also apply to an analogous discussion on second-generation membership-within (or defection from) alternative religious groups. Braungart and Braungart (1984), however, focused on patterns of radical activism among youth, and it is not at all clear how one would apply their insights to attitudes that second-generation youth hold toward the power structures of their respective alternative religions.

Second-Generation Defection in Psychological Context:

Similarly, Lawrence Steinberg and Susan Silverberg (1986) offer a theory of adolescent autonomy. Steinberg and Silverberg's primary argument is that "the development of autonomy is not a unidimensional achievement, but actually involves progress in different domains" (Durkin, 1995: 521-522). According to Steinberg and Silverberg, adolescents go through three aspects of autonomy: emotional autonomy, in which the adolescent decreases dependence on his or her parents, resistance to peer pressure (specifically thinking as an individual versus conforming), and creating a subjective sense of self-reliance, which is essentially emotional independence and action (Durkin, 1995: 522). One by-product of increased independence is adolescent-parent conflict (Durkin, 1995: 523). Steinberg and Silverberg's adolescent autonomy echoes Feuer's (1969) arguments regarding the conflict of generations. Perhaps such conflict is simply the natural cycle of the 'storm and stress' of adolescence. What Steinberg and Silberberg fail to explain, however, is why so many second-generation defectors remain hostile toward their alternative religions in which their parents remain as members.

Second-Generation Defection in a Religious Studies Context:

Taking a religious studies perspective, perhaps the defection of the second-generation is not attributable to socialization failure, or to issues related to generational politics. Instead, defection may result from a lack of faith, which the first-generation fervently possessed, but the second-generation does not. James Fowler (1986) argued for the existence of seven faith 'stages,' and does so by drawing on Piagetian cognitive development and Kohlberg's stages of moral development. Worth noting is that Fowler's definition of faith differed from religious beliefs. Faith, he argued, is another way of knowing about the world (Parker: 2006). The second-generation develops faith, then, through a series of inherent "structures," such as locus of authority (for example, are parents the highest level of authority?), and cognitive development (Parker: 2006).

Faith development is a stage-like progression, occurring in spurts, but Fowler cautioned not to view faith development as an "achievement scale" (Fowler, 1986: 19-22, 38). According to Fowler, faith stages are "sequential, invariant, and hierarchical"—in a sense, universal (Fowler, 2001: 167). Fowler argued that the difference between being raised in a faith, and actually becoming one of the faithful is dependent on adults' ongoing socialization of children into the faith, which in time, will "deepen, expand, and reconstitute" their own personal faith (Fowler: 37-38). Additionally, Fowler has applied his theory of faith development to mainstream organized religions (2001).

Both postmodernists and research psychologists, however, have criticized faith development theory for its lack of philosophical foundation, and for the fact that the stages are difficult to measure empirically (Fowler: 2001; McDargh: 2001). Nevertheless, one empirical study concluded that the Faith Development Scale "does assess faith development contextualized within Fowler's framework" (Leak, 2003: 640). In a review of 53 empirical studies, Heinz Streib (2005) concluded that Fowler's theory of faith development is useful and relevant, but a coherent methodology for using Fowler needs to emerge. Likewise, although Fowler provided an explanation for defection from religious organizations, it did not address the unique situations of alternative religious groups, in which second-generation defectors may have undergone a wide range of unusual socialization 'experiments.' Defection, therefore, may not be attributed solely to weakening faith as Fowler suggests.

Although the literature that I have reviewed thus far does not directly address second-generation defection from alternative religious groups, some researchers are beginning to investigate this phenomenon. Below is a case study of the experiences of the second-generation in the Children of God/The Family, based upon existing scholarship on the group.

Current Literature: The Children of God/The Family — A Case Study:

The Children of God/The Family is arguably the most researched alternative religious group to have emerged in the late 1960s, partly because it produced a large pool of members and ex-members whom researchers could interview. Significantly, in the early 1990s, "more than half of the full-time members [were] under the age of fifteen and have never known any other life" (Van Zandt, 1991: 172).

Children[5] are a consistent presence in Children of God/Family life. For example, "over one-third of all members were children" between January 1979 and April 1980 (Van Zandt, 1991: 50). The Children of God/The Family adults are strongly opposed to birth control, which resulted in "soaring birthrates and no open acknowledgement of what little birth control is practiced (namely, limited methods such as rhythm, particularly after childbirth)" (Van Zandt, 1991: 79). Moreover, the Children of God/The Family "had a birthrate of 6 percent in 1975 — ten times higher than the U.S. birthrate of 0.6 percent" (Wangerin, 1993: 94). For example, in 1978 the Children of God/The Family had 611 babies (Wangerin, 1993: 106), and 1741 children, representing one-third of the membership of 5000 (Wangerin, 1993: 119). From 1971 to 1981, Family statistics claim 4800 children were born into the group (Palmer, 1994: 14). In 1987, Children of God publication statistics listed the number of children at 6470 (Williams, 1998: 271). Additionally, according to a 1998 Family publication, 54.7% of members in The Family were twelve years of age or younger (Van Zandt, 1991: 166, n.3). As of

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[5] Until the early 1980s, the Children of God/The Family considered children to be adults at the age of twelve. "In the mid 1980s, The Family developed closely defined age [groups] with clear distinctions in rights, responsibilities, and behavioral expectations. Today, these categories are Infants, Toddlers, Young Children (YCs: ages 3-5), Middle Children (MCs: ages 6-8), Older Children (OCs: ages 9-11), Junior End Time Teens (JETTS: ages 12-13), Junior Teens (ages 14-15), Senior Teens (ages 16-17), Young Adults (YAs: ages 18-20), and Adults. With the coming of age of the older members of the second-generation, the sect introduced further distinctions: First Generation Adult (FGA) and Second Generation Adult (SGA)" (Chancellor, 2000: 23, n.10). In the past, the Children of God had categorized children into five age groups: babies, toddlers, junior BBBs (Benjamin Bottle Breakers), senior BBBs and high school (ages 10-13) (Wangerin, 1993:119).

July 1988, 6833 full-time members were children (Van Zandt, 1991: 166; Wangerin, 1993: 166).

In the early 1990s, a typical Family home "consist[ed] of eight to ten adults and sometimes twenty-five children" (Van Zandt, 1991: 168). In April 1990, the average number of children per couple was 4.5 (Williams, 1998: 227). The 1990s were a critical period in the Children of God/The Family history, as second-generation members became old enough to defect as young adults. World Services[6] was actually aware that The Family relied on its second generation for continued survival. For example, "from the early 1980s, World Services offered a 'baby bonus' to mothers who bore a child" (Van Zandt, 1991: 150). By 1991, the ratio of children to adults had reached 2:1 (Palmer, 1994: 14). By 1993, Ruth Wangerin estimated that approximately 6000 members were children, and another large group of eighteen-to-twenty-one-year-olds existed as the early second-generation whose parents joined in the 1970s (1993: 174). Lawrence Lilliston and Gary Shepherd estimated the number of second-generation members under the age of eighteen to have been between six and seven thousand (1994: 58).

One difficulty in researching second-generation experiences specifically within the Children of God/The Family is "there is no typical second-generation disciple" (Chancellor, 2000: 213). Further complicating the issue is the amount of Family homes, and subsequent internal leadership variations (Shepherd & Shepherd, 2005: 71). For example, during the 1980s, members in the Orient had less difficulty with their teenagers than did adults in European colonies (Chancellor, 2000: 217).

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[6] World Services is the executive and leadership arm of the Children of God/The Family organization (Williams, 1998: 297).

Another difficulty is physically tracking the second-generation. For example, during the early 1970s, the Texas Soul Clinic ranch (the initial geographical base of the Children of God) did not register the babies born there (Wangerin, 1993: 25). The Children of God epitomized Robin Boyle's (1999) general conclusion that currently no records exist of cultic children's births or deaths. Simply knowing how many children were born during the 1970s is unquantifiable. Additionally, the lack of birth certificates raises questions concerning how many children possibly died (potentially some may have done so due to natural unassisted childbirth). Since birthrates are impossible to track, rates of defection are not necessarily valid. Therefore, second-generation defection rates cannot be reliably nor validly studied quantitatively.

According to Chancellor (2000: 205), the Children of God/The Family is focused on "retraining [the second-generation] as 'full-time missionaries'" to fulfill God's blessings. Chancellor also indicated, however, that although some second-generation members remain in the Children of God/The Family, "scores of older teenagers and young adults [are] leaving" (2000: 195). The 1980s particularly had "substantial numbers of older teens [. . .] in open rebellion against Family ideology and lifestyle standards" (Chancellor, 2000: 236).

In contrast, Lilliston and Shepherd argued, "the Family has been very successful in retaining the faith and commitment of its young people" (1994: 58), although they additionally acknowledged as many as two thousand people have left the Family between 1989 and 1994 (1994: 58). Lilliston and Shepherd, however, wrote six years before Chancellor's 2000 study. No systematic studies exist, however, documenting how many second-generation members have abandoned Children of God/The Family beliefs (Chancellor, 2000: 206, n.1; Kent, 2005: 119).

The second-generation has in fact become "the organization's most articulate and precise critics" (Kent, 2004: 57). Of the children born in the 1970s, relatively few have remained (Chancellor, 2000: 242). Consequently, recruitment methods such as litnessing[7] have become increasingly crucial to attract new members since the second-generation is leaving in "scores" (Van Zandt, 1991: 168).

The Children of God/The Family is aware of the significance of teens quitting the movement. In 1991, sect leader Maria released a publication entitled "Jett/Teen Discipleship Revolution Needed Now," which concluded, "'we have a big worldwide emergency with all our Jetts'" (Ward, 1995: 168). In contrast, by 1994, Maria gave her blessing to departing teens, saying "'[The Family] will pray for you and help you as much as we can [. . .] We hope you'll be successful'" (qtd. in Chancellor, 2000: 249).

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[7] Litnessing refers to a recruitment method in which the Children of God/The Family member (who usually is preaching) hands out sect literature on public streets, in exchange for a donation (Williams, 1998: 295).

Choosing to leave one's alternative religious group is by no means an easy decision. Stuart Wright studied the similarities among people leaving alternative religious groups, including The Family, and found the process similar to suffering through a divorce. Emotions that defectors felt included "sentiments of being trapped, pressure to remain in the [group] because of guilt, insecurity, and fear of starting over" (1991: 131). Although Wright studied first-generation defectors, one could assume defection for second-generation members is no easier. One of Wright's Children of God interviews reflected:

> I struggled with a lot of guilt at first. I don't know, it's hard to describe what you go through when you finally make up your mind to leave. We were very close to some of those people, they were like family [. . .] I'm not going to tell you it didn't hurt (1991: 132).

Defection, therefore, is a complex, emotional decision.

What's Missing from the Literature:

Identifying factors involved in second-generation defection, therefore, would assist in untangling this theoretical quagmire of inter-generational relations. The literature review reflects the need for a multifaceted investigation of factors pertaining to second-generation defection. Some theorists have focused on general religious disaffiliation, or generational politics and conflict (Braungart and Braungart : 1984; Feuer: 1969; Greven: 1977). Moreover, the sociological literature narrowly focuses on first-generation retention and subsequent group survival (Stark: 1987; Weber: 1920). Theories stemming from social psychology, such as Steinberg and Silverberg's theory of adolescent autonomy (1986), and Fowler's theory on faith development (2001, 1987), fail to take into the account the unique high-demand lifestyles associated with alternative religious groups. Another problem is that existing academic literature on second-generation defection tends to focus exclusively on one group, the Children of God/The Family (Chancellor: 2000; Kent: 2004; Kent: 2000; Lilliston and Shepherd: 1994; Palmer: 1994; Van Zandt, 1991; Wangerin, 1993; Wright: 1991) and not on cross-group commonalities. By focusing on common factors leading to second-generation defection among groups, this thesis provides an initial cohesive theory on second-generation defection from alternative religious groups.

Autobiographies

Defectors use a wide variety of venues to tell their stories. These venues include television, magazines, newspapers, the internet, academic articles, conferences, court testimonies, and books (as either authors or subjects). Naturally, each of these mediums inherently possesses benefits and disadvantages. Providing an overview of these mediums, however, is outside the scope of this thesis. I only wish to note that second-generation reports are not exclusive to the realm of academic interviews. Second-generation defectors, therefore, are far more outspoken than what the existing literature generally acknowledges.

Like academic articles written by second-generation members, books with second-generation authorship enable the former members to tell their own personal accounts at great length. As such, autobiographical books provide the most space to tell the authors' accounts of their experiences. An additional bonus to researchers is that former members often cite internal documents rarely available to the public. Unlike other mediums, therefore, autobiographical books provide the most exclusive and detailed accounts of life inside alternative religious groups for second-generation members.

I include the following books for thematic analysis since they fit the definitions outlined above for 'second-generation' and 'alternative religious groups'.[8] I have not included in the sample additional books rich with second-generation accounts, but not written specifically by second-generation members.[9] The sample includes the following second-generation autobiographical accounts of growing up in an alternative religious group:

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[8] I did not include in the sample the following autobiographical books because they did not meet the research definition of second-generation accounts: Ayers (2005), Davis with Davis (1984), Palmer and Perrin (2004), Robertson (1977), Tate (1997). At least two others did not meet the research definition of alternative religious groups: Lee (2006), Lebert (2001). I chose to eliminate Fraser (1999) from the sample, as her book is not autobiographical, but a historical account of the Church of Christ, Scientist and did not focus on her personal story of socialization. Additionally, Fraser's grandparents were members of the sect; therefore, I consider her a third-generation member. Nelson (1989) does not meet the criteria of a second-generation account. Although her parents and grandparents joined at the same time, and therefore could arguably both constitute first-generation members, since her parents were twelve and fifteen years old, they fit the criteria of the sect's first attempts at socializing children (Nelson, 1989: 1). Therefore, Nelson's parents are second-generation members, making Nelson a third-generation member (Nelson: 1989). Similarly, Noyes (1921, reprinted 1971) fits the definitions for both alternative religious group and second-generation, but his book is not autobiographical; instead, it is a biography of his grandfather, John Humphrey Noyes. Because the book is not autobiographical (it does not address child rearing within Oneida) I have chosen to eliminate it from the sample. Robertson (1972) also did not meet the criteria for an autobiographical account; additionally, she is the granddaughter of Oneida founder John Humphrey Noyes, and as such constitutes a third-generation member.

[9] For additional books containing second-generation accounts, see Chancellor (2000), Fogarty (2000), Glatt (1995), Lattin (2007), Palmer and Hardman (1999), Pressman (1993), Rochford (2007), Shachtman (2006), Self (1992), and Wooden (1981).

1. *Not Without My Sister* [about life in the Children of God/The Family] (Jones, Jones, and Buhring: 2007).
2. *My Life in Orange* [about life in the Rajneeshees] (Guest: 2004).
3. *In the Shadow of the Moons: My Life in the Reverend Sun Myung Moon's Family* [about life in the Unification Church] (Hong: 1995).
4. *Unseen, Unheard, Unknown: My Life Inside the Family of Anne Hamilton-Byrne* [about life in the Great White Brotherhood/The Family] (Hamilton-Byrne: 1995).
5. *Paradise Fever: Growing Up in the Shadow of the New Age* (Tompkins: 1997).
6. *My Father's Guru: A Journey through Spirituality and Disillusionment* [about life as a child of parents devoted to Paul Brunton] (Masson: 1993).
7. *Wife No.19: A Life in Bondage: A Full Expose of Mormonism* (Young: 1876).

This thesis investigates emerging themes leading to the defection of second-generation members. Currently, no 'list' of variables exists to explain second-generation defection, although Kent (2005) identified some commonalities between second-generation experiences within different groups. The intent of this thesis is not to provide a finalized list of reasons leading to defection, but represents the first step in the process of establishing a more formalized theoretical framework. I analyzed each of the autobiographical accounts from a modified grounded theory perspective, with themes coded as they emerged (for a detailed methodology, please refer to Chapter 2). I noted commonalities among the texts, which established the initial framework for the themes in second-generation defection (see Chapter 4). Chapter 5 provides primary and secondary sources that either support or contradict claims made within some of the autobiographies. Since no additional second-generation autobiographies exist, however, to counter claims of abuse within the respective groups, I must rely upon these additional sources in an attempt to check at least the broad dimensions of the second generation's more serious assertions.

Sample Overview

The intent of providing a sample overview is two-fold. Since the topic is second-generation experiences within their respective alternative religious groups, the unit of analysis is neither the individual nor the group, but the individual within the group context. The individual and the group cannot be separated, especially since the groups in the sample represent high-demand environments. First, since the sample represents different alternative religious groups, it is necessary for the reader to have some understanding of sect dogma and practices. In this sense, I provide reasons for defection within a broader context. Second, I provide an overview of each author's personal timeline (for example, how he or she initially became a child member, key events, and timeframe for disaffiliation within each respective sect. Again, I emphasis how the individual's experiences and alternative religious group's practices and beliefs are not separate, but intertwined.

A Brief Overview: Children of God/The Family

David Berg (1919-1994)[10] founded the Children of God, although the group initially began as Teens for Christ in Huntington Beach, California in late 1967 and early 1968 (Chancellor, 2000: 1). The sect was against the "System," which it viewed as "the corrupt educational, political, economic, and religious structures of contemporary American society that were soon to be consumed by the full wrath of God" (Chancellor, 2000: 2). Berg established a hierarchical leadership system within the Children of God (and was largely absent from daily life from August 1970, until his death in 1994), choosing to communicate via MO Letters, which he claimed were divinely inspired texts [that he wrote] (Van Zandt, 1991: 30).[11] Berg married Jane Millar ("Mother Eve") in 1944, but later took a second wife, Karen Zerby ("Queen Maria"), who currently leads The Family with her consort Peter Amsterdam, following Berg's death (Chancellor, 2000: 2-3; Van Zandt, 1991: 31).

Before the media renamed the sect the Children of God, the Teens for Christ divided itself into twelve tribes, supported through gifts from family members, funds from new members who had "forsaken all," and provisioning from the general public (Chancellor, 2000: 3). By the end of 1971, the sect had spread to an estimated sixty-nine colonies throughout the United States and Canada (Chancellor, 2000: 3). At present, the group continues on a worldwide scale. The sect keeps colonies dogmatically similar through a strict hierarchy of leadership, issuing direction now through the Internet, letters issued by Maria and Peter, and tracking membership and finances through World Services (Chancellor, 2000: 281).

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[10] Sect members additionally refer to David Berg as Uncle Dave, Moses David, Grandpa, Father David, or Dad (Chancellor, 2000: ix).

[11] MO Letters are "a printed letter from Mo to the members of the Children of God. There were approximately 2,800 MO Letters by 1993 (Niebuhr, 1993, qtd. in Wangerin, 1993: 186). MO Letters are "viewed as divinely inspired and have authority equal to the Bible" (Chancellor, 2000: xix). Additionally, the sect coded MO Letters to ensure that only specific non-controversial letters were distributed to the public (Van Zandt, 1991: 21,n.3).

The Children of God are similar to fundamentalist Christian groups in that they believe the Bible is historically accurate, and believe that faith in Jesus Christ is necessary for salvation. The sect viewed Berg's authority as divine, with MO Letters having equal weight to Biblical teachings. In addition, the Children of God/The Family believes that the End Times are swiftly approaching, and will begin with the destruction of America: "God has warned us time and again [. . .] that His judgments were going to be soon poured out upon America, and [the Children of God] should flee" (Berg, 1972: 1308). Different than evangelical Christians, however, is the Children of God's view that the End Times will not be a rapture, but will be a full Antichrist experience, with "the mark of the beast [being] a computer chip implanted in the palm or forehead" — and only the sect can save 'true' Christians (Chancellor, 2000: ix).[12]

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[12] Additional information on The Children of God/The Family doctrine is located on The Family website (<http://www.thefamily.org/about/beliefs.php#26>) or in Chancellor (2000: 255-270). The website, however, does not mention the divinity of Berg, or the authority of the MO Letters. Chancellor provided the sect's "Statement of Faith," although he did not give a date for it.

Critics of the Children of God/The Family disapprove of the sect's sexual doctrines, most notably 'Flirty Fishing,'[13] and accuse the sect of 'brainwashing' its members (Chancellor, 2000: 4, 97, 98, 110; Van Zandt, 1991: 35, 167, n.5; Wangerin, 1993: 27, 72). Critics also accuse the sect of anti-Semitism (Davis with Davis, 1984: 94; Van Zandt, 1991: 23). The largest condemnation of the sect, however, is for its alleged sexual abuse of children, and physical abuse of teens in concentration-like Victor Camps (Chancellor, 2000: 27-28; Kent and Hall: 2000; Van Zandt, 1991: 26, 53-54, 170-171; Williams, 1998: 220-221).

In response to the criticisms, the Children of God/The Family enacted several policies. Firstly, Berg insisted that members under legal age must have legal authorization from parents or guardians prior to joining (Chancellor, 2000: 4). Secondly, the sect established "Selah" (secret) colonies, complete with guards to protect themselves from non-supportive visitors (Chancellor, 2000: 4). Thirdly, although The Family's website does not formally respond to allegations of abuse, the sect has responded at times via MO Letters, policy changes (some legally imposed), and formal apologies (Chancellor, 2000: 248). Within the sample of autobiographies, the Children of God/The Family is the most publicized sect.

Timeline of Affiliation: Kristina Jones, Celeste Jones, Juliana Buhring

The sisters' timelines overlap, but are distinct, largely due to the Children of God/The Family's process of geographically splitting up biological families

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[13] Flirty Fishing is essentially prostitution of the sect's female members in order to 'win' souls for Jesus, as well as economic support from wealthier 'fish' (Chancellor, 2000: 16, 122-123, 129-130; Van Zandt, 1991: 46-49, 97; Wangerin, 1993: 49; Williams, 1998: 156-157, 271).

(Davis with Davis, 1984: 53-55, 102, 110, 138, 142, 191). Celeste Jones's father, Christopher Jones, joined the Children of God/The Family in 1973 (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: xiv). While in the sect, he fathered fifteen children by seven women, and continues to remain a devoted member (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: xiv). Christopher Jones met Celeste and Kristina's mother, Rebecca Jones (also a member), and married in 1974 (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: xiv). Unlike Celeste's father, Rebecca formally left the sect in 1987 with her second husband, Joshua, who was also a former member (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: xv). I present Celeste Jones's reasons for defection in detail in Chapter 5. Celeste provided no dates for her defection, making her time spent in the sect difficult to evaluate chronologically. She left as a young adult, following family intervention from her sisters and mother who defected before her.[14]

Juliana Buhring is the daughter of Christopher Jones and sect member Serena Buhring, whom her father met following his separation from Rebecca (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: xv). Serena has three children, including Juliana, and continues her involvement with the Children of God/The Family (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: xv). Juliana was born June 2, 1981 in Rafina Greece, and lived with six-year-old Celeste, Simon Peter (the sect name chosen by her father, Christopher Jones), and Serena (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 116).

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[14] At first, her family (those who defected, including her mother and sister Kristina) staged a meeting mediated by new religious movement researcher Eileen Barker (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 267-268). Celeste held a second meeting at a Family Media Home, and a third was just with her sister Kristina and sect member Eman (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 267-268). Celeste also had informal contact with her mother and father — for example, once at McDonalds (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 275-276), and spent a Christmas with her father and his parents (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 276). Spending time with her sisters Juliana and Kristina, in addition to getting a job as a temp outside of the sect, helped to gradually change Celeste's perceptions that outsiders were not evil (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 277-278).

While her parents worked for the Children of God/The Family, various foster parents (sect members) housed Juliana, age five, in places such as Manila and Macau (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 126-127). In Macau, the sect briefly reunited Juliana with her father and Celeste for a few months, before leadership summoned her father to work from the Kind's Household [Berg's home compound] (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 126). By age six, Juliana attended "the first Family school, the Jumbo" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 133) in the Philippines. For a few months at age seven, the sect sent Juliana to Heavenly City School in Japan, where she briefly lived with her father, before the sect sent her back to the Philippines to meet-up with Celeste (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 148-149). When Juliana's father returned to Japan, he sent Juliana and Celeste to the sect's school in Bangkok, Thailand (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 154). The sect additionally sent Juliana to India (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 296), back to Japan (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 297), back to Thailand (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 298), and to the United Kingdom, all in an attempt to straighten out her passport (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 300), then to the south of France where she reunited with her mother briefly (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 303), before being sent back to Japan (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 303). Increased contact with her sister, Kristina, and mounting dissatisfaction with sectarian life prompted Juliana's defection as a young adult. Juliana did not provide the dates or her age at defection.

Kristina Jones was born in Bombay, India, while her parents, Christopher and Rebecca Jones, were working as missionaries for the sect (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 159). By age four, spurred on by the 'Go Caravan' MO Letter, she "lived in over forty different places over the next ten years" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 164, 170). To avoid custody battles with her mother's parents, Bill and Margaret, whom Kristina briefly lived with in England, the family moved to India (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 162, 173). By 1988, aged eleven, Kristina moved back to England, and had not seen her mother in two years (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 201). Again, I detail Kristina's reasons for defection in Chapter 5. Kristina was the first of the Jones sisters to leave the Children of God/The Family.

A Brief Overview: The Rajneeshees:

The Rajneeshees were followers of sect leader, Indian guru Bhagwan ('the blessed one') Shree Rajneesh (1931-1990), who considered himself a "living Buddha" who had "permanently dissolved the ego with all its worldly desires and attachments" (Clarke, 1988: 33). He proclaimed himself superior to all previous buddhas and holy men, and in "possession of absolute and total spiritual truth" (Clarke, 1988: 34). Rajneesh also asserted his spiritual superiority through claims of various reincarnation experiences as previous gurus, such as a spiritual Master of a mystic school in the Himalayas several hundred years ago, representing many different spiritual traditions (Clarke, 1988: 34). Rajneesh gave his disciples, who he called "sannyasins," new names upon joining his communes, and considered them the "New Man" on a spiritual mission for world transformation (Clarke, 1988: 34). Similar to the Children of God/The Family, Rajneesh preached, "that failure to achieve a world transformation of consciousness (to create a "New Man") within the next two or three decades would inevitably result in a nuclear holocaust ["Word War III"] (Clarke, 1988: 35).

Rajneesh recommended that the sannyasins live in sect communes — with daily practices of singing, chanting, and dancing — all focused around himself [if he were present], or his likeness [if he were absent] (Clarke, 1988: 38). Members wore sunrise colors, and malas, which were lockets with a picture of Rajneesh attached to necklaces of 108 beads (Clarke, 1988: 38, 39). Rajneesh also subjected his followers to hours of preaching, and he publicized his preaching through audio tapes and internal newspapers (Clarke, 1988: 38). The sect was very sexually open, and at times, some spiritual sessions became physically violent. Rajneesh discouraged sannyasins from having children, encouraging his female disciples to undergo abortions or sterilizations, and encouraged his male disciples to undergo vasectomies (Strelley, 1987: 149, 154).

One of Rajneesh's most noted endeavors was annexing the town of Antelope, Oregon (renaming it Rajneeshpuram), to serve as the "'Buddhafield'" (energy field) "wherein the 'New Man' would be born" (qtd. in Clarke, 1988: 35). Ronald Clarke (1988) indentified Rajneesh as a narcissist. Rajneesh certainly exhibited flamboyant behavior, such as having portraits of himself dominate sect places, wearing finely tailored, regal-like garments, and purchasing over ninety

Rolls Royces with commune funds (Clarke, 1988: 38-39, 41). One example where Rajneesh further alienated the sect from outside society was his 'Consider the Poor' program, which shipped in hundreds of war veterans, criminals, and mentally handicapped people to Rajneeshpuram (Carter, 1990: 211-219). As opposition to the sect increased, the sect retaliated, for example, by poisoning a local salad bar in 1984 with salmonella, causing the illnesses of approximately 750 people (Carter, 1990: xv, Kent, 2004: 123). In the final days of the sect, "sixty-three Rajneeshees faced charges on eleven different types of criminal offence" including "lying to federal officials, criminal conspiracy, burglary, racketeering, first-degree arson, second-degree assault, first-degree assault, and attempted murder" (Kent, 2004: 123). The United States deported Bhagwan in late 1985 "upon conviction on two counts of immigration fraud" (Clarke, 1988: 33). Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh died January 18, 1990 (Guest, 2004: 3).

Timeline of Affiliation: Tim Guest

Tim Guest 'joined' the Rajneeshes in 1978 at two-and-a-half-years-old, when his single mother joined (2004: 1). By February 1979 at age three he had moved to a new communal home in Leeds; by four, his mother moved to the commune in Bombay, leaving him with his biological father John (Guest, 2004: 14, 17, 26). She returned in November 1980 (Guest, 2004: 24). By December, he had written to the group's guru, Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh requesting his own mala, and requesting not to have to change his name (Guest, 2004: 24). Between 1979 and February 1981, he lived in various Rajneeshee communes in Pune, India

(Guest, 2004: 27, 29, 54-59), Oak Village, England (Guest, 2004: 58), and Pempantha center in Devon, England (Guest, 2004: 62). Tim visited his father (who was not a member of the sect) in San Francisco in August, 1981 (Guest, 2004: 75), beginning the tradition of visiting him every July around his birthday (Guest, 2004: 152).

Tim spent the majority of his childhood at Medina Rajneesh commune in England, beginning December 12, 1981 (Guest, 2004: 76). The commune was a total internal society, providing education (it was licensed as an official boarding school), food, and employment (whether paid is unclear) to 450 people, plus children (Guest, 2004: 81, 97). His mother was alternately present and absent. His timeline becomes unclear, but it is important to know that Guest stayed at Rajneeshpuram (Antelope, Oregon) for two weeks during the Third Annual World Celebration internal holiday (Guest, 2004: 178-205). Guest was alternately living with his father throughout the next few years. In 1984, he moved with his mother to Wioska Rajneesh, the sect's colony in Cologne, Germany (Guest, 2004: 216), but the sect sent him back to Medina in February 1985 (Guest, 2004: 225). Guest implied that he spent the summer with his father again, since the text states in late 1985 his mother moved back to London, and he joined her (Guest, 2004: 260). Tim left the group in the late 1980s, when the North London communes ended (Guest, 2004: 2), suggesting he was in his mid-teens upon defecting.

A Brief Overview: The Unification Church:

'Reverend'[15] Sun Myung Moon (renamed, meaning 'Shining, Bright, Word') was born in what now is North Korea in 1920 (Barrett, 2001: 203). "At the age of 16, he had a vision of Jesus Christ who told him he must further the building of God's kingdom on Earth" (Barrett, 2001: 203). Members of the Unification Church believe that Moon is "Lord of the Second Advent" (Hong, 1998: 4). Moon also claimed to be the reincarnation of mainstream religious prophets, and claimed to speak directly with Buddha, Jesus, and Moses (Hong, 1998: 19). On August 20, 1985, Moon held a ceremony declaring himself and his wife Emperor and Empress of the Universe (Hong, 1998: 148).

Moon published the Unification Church's official teachings, Discourse on the Principle, in 1966, "which was translated into English in 1973 as Divine Principle" (Barrett, 2001: 204). In the United States, the public contact with Moon's followers, 'Moonies,' consisted of members selling flowers and candles on the streets to fundraise for the sect, often not revealing their link to the sect (Barret, 2001: 204). The Unification Church also profits from its numerous organizations (including the Little Angels of Korea dance troupe, and the International Relief Friendship Foundation) and it owns shares in the University of Bridgeport, Connecticut (Barrett, 2001: 206). In 1982, the United States government imprisoned Reverend Moon for thirteen months and fined him

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[15] 'Reverend' is a term of respect for Moon by his followers, since "he has no formal theological training" (Barrett, 2001: 203).

$25,000 for "non-payment of taxes on the interest on his personal bank account" (Barrett, 2001: 205).

The Unification Church considers itself a Christian group, although, like Berg's MO Letters, the sect views Moon's *Divine Principle* as equal to the Bible (Barrett, 2001: 207-208). The Unification Church's account of the Fall of Man differs from mainstream belief. According to David Barrett:

> The angel Lucifer, placed in the Garden of Eden to serve the first two people, falls in love with Eve; he tempts her, and they have sex together (the 'fruit' is a symbol of sexuality). Eve, repenting her sin, tells Adam what she has done — and then has sex with him to try to put things right when, at that stage in their relationship, they should still be living as brother and sister, not husband and wife. Adam and Eve have misused their love, and became separated from God. Due to the Fall, the bond between man and God was broken, resulting in a long history of grief to man and his Creator (2001: 209).

According to Moon, the ideal trinity is God, Man, and Woman united in love, which was the purpose of Jesus — to recreate the perfect marriage without children tainted by Original Sin (Barrett, 2001: 209, 211). It is Moon's and his wife's responsibility to complete Jesus's mission in restoring the Garden of Eden (Hong, 1998: 5, 20).

The Unification Church, therefore, highly values marriage. Moon assigns marital partnerships between members, and presides over mass weddings with as many as 25,000 couples (Barrett, 2001: 210). Children born into these 'blessed unions' are reputedly without sin and referred to as 'Blessed Children' (Orme-Collins: 2002). The sect refers to Moon's own children as the "True Children," which are the "flawless foundation" for building Moon's new paradise (Hong, 1998: 5, 20). Moon also preached that Jesus abdicated his position of King of Heaven to his deceased son, Heung Jin (Hong, 1998: 136, 167). The deification of Reverend Sun Myung Moon guides much of the policy and dogma of the Unification Church.

Timeline of Affiliation: Nansook Hong

Nansook Hong's parents married in the Unification Church (1998: 30-32), making Hong a child born into the Unification Church. In the sixth grade, she entered the Little Angels Art School, one of the top performing arts schools in South Korea, run by the Unification Church (Hong, 1998: 51). From an early age, she already had been attending Sunday School (Hong, 1998: 43-48). When she was fifteen, Reverend Moon matched her to his son Hyo Jin (Hong, 1998: 72-73). January 3, 1982, Hong illegally entered the United States to live in the Moon mansion/compound near New York City (Hong, 1998: 74). Hong raised four children during her abusive marriage to her drug-addicted husband (Hong, 1998: 3-6). On August 8, 1995, at twenty-nine, she fled the Moon compound under the cover of darkness, taking her children with her (Hong, 1998; 3-5; 203-204). She was fortunate that, due to its South Korean roots, the Unification Church valued education. Hong obtained a degree in Art History from Barnard College in 1994

(Hong, 1998: 179), and has since returned to school, studying psychology at the University of Massachusetts (Hong, 1998: 232).

A Brief Overview: The Great White Brotherhood/The Family:

The belief system and history of the Great White Brotherhood/The Family is difficult to present since no scholarship exists on the sect. The autobiography in the sample is from a second-generation member, Sarah Hamilton-Byrne, yet there were adult members of the sect who have not spoken publicly about their experiences in it. Consequently, precisely what the sect 'believed' is difficult to sort out.

Anne Hamilton-Byrne (birth circa 1923) was the leader of the Great White Brotherhood/The Family, based out of small communes in New Zealand, Australia, and England (Hamilton-Byrne: 1995). Underneath Anne were the 'Aunties,' responsible for childcare (Hamilton-Byrne: 1995). According to Sarah Hamilton-Byrne, the Aunties told the children that Anne was Jesus Christ reincarnated (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 39). Anne collected children as part of a 'scientific experiment' to continue humanity following what she predicted was an imminent holocaust of worldwide proportion (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 1). Anne grouped the children into sets of twins and triplets, and dressed them alike by sex (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 18, 134), although it is not clear what dogmatic significance this pattern of dressing had. The sect raised the children under strict instructions from Anne, which included regimented exercise, copious amounts of vitamins, and occasionally drugs, limited food, and strict isolation from outside society. Anne also stressed the secretiveness of the whole operation, creating the sect motto, "Unseen, Unheard, Unknown" (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 4). The Australian police raided the sect, which as a result disbanded in August, 1987 (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: cover page).

Timeline of Affiliation: Sarah Hamilton-Byrne

Sarah Hamilton-Byrne was a member of the Great White Brotherhood/The Family for seventeen years (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 5). She is the only second-generation member to be 'adopted' into the sect; in 1969, her biological mother's doctor (Beryl Hubble) overmedicated her biological mother on Largactil (a tranquilizer) and signed legal adoption papers giving Sarah to a follower of Anne Hamilton-Byrne (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 197-198; 200-201). In 1974, Anne Hamilton-Byrne obtained legal guardianship of Andree Lenore Hamilton Hubble [which was a false name] (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 169), and she began living in the sect's isolated compound called Uptop at Kai Lama on Lake Eildon, Australia (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 8). She spent thirteen years there, until 1987, including all her schooling [it was legally registered as Aquinel College] (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 8, 89, 97). By 1984, she was beginning to have doubts, even though she became an Initiate of the Path (an internal rite of passage), signified by sneaking out at night to break and enter into local homes to steal food (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 131-134). In 1984, Hamilton-Byrne moved to the compound in Broom Farm in England, and had her first 'going through,' where Anne changed her name from Andree to Sarah (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 143-145); by sixteen, she had experienced four more ‘going throughs’ (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 147). By 1985, Hamilton-Byrne slowly began to be exposed to outside society through weekly ballroom dance lessons in Melbourne (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 153), and employment with Jim MacFarlane, who was a prominent sect member and physiotherapist (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 156). This exposure to outside influences, such as friends from public high school (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 162), former members (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 163), and friends through ballroom dance (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 164), eventually led Sarah Hamilton-Byrne to talk to the police about internal child abuse (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 173-175). On Friday, August 14, 1987, “police rescued the children in a dramatic early-morning raid” (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: cover pg.) at the Eildon, Australia property (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 2), and the police took the children into protective custody of Community Services Victoria (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 2).

On May 17, 1988, the police informed Sarah Hamilton-Byrne that members of The Family could not be prosecuted, as the statue of limitations for child abuse only extended twelve months (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 190, 3). Beginning in 1989, Anne and her husband Bill were extradited to Australia from the United States to face the charge of “conspiracy to commit perjury in relation to the false registration of some of [the Hamilton-Byrne] children” (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 2). The court case lasted eighteen months, and the charge was overturned by the Full Bench of the Supreme Court due to Victorian law having no jurisdiction to prosecute events that occurred in New Zealand (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 2-3). Anne and Bill Hamilton-Byrne could not be charged with additional offences, because of a deal arranged by the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP), which enabled unchallenged extradition in exchange for dropping any additional charges (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 3). In September, 1994, however, Bill and Anne plead guilty to the charge of making a false declaration and each were fined $5000 (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 3). After defecting, Sarah Hamilton-Byrne was temporarily in a hospital for insanity and severe depression, yet completed medical school at Melbourne University (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 210). She subsequently worked for the American Refugee Committee on the Thai-Burma border and also worked in the slums of Calcutta (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 217, 219).

New Age Movement: Ptolomy Tompkins

Tompkins's New Age household was not a sect with strictly designated leadership and belief system, which makes providing an 'overview' inappropriate. Since Ptolomy Tompkins's father's New Age Movement was so loosely knit, a timeline is difficult to construct. Tompkins essentially grew up in a household of his father, his mother (who lived in a separate house, but on the same property), his father's second wife, Betty, and a revolving door policy for other New Age sympathizers (Tompkins: 1997). In a sense, Tompkins was 'born into' a loose-knit New Age sect. Tompkins was in Grade 3 when his father announced to the family he had taken a second wife, Betty (Tompkins, 1997: 34). In 1971, his father wrote Secrets of the Great Pyramid, which helped to establish him as a pioneer in the New Age Movement (Tompkins, 1997: 6). By 1972, the family moved into a large renovated barn in McLean, Virginia, where they attracted all sorts of 'New Age' seekers, some who stayed for years (Tompkins, 1997: 10-11). According to Tompkins, a "systematic search for [the] lost paradise was conducted on a daily basis" (Tompkins, 1997: 11). His father's popularity and visibility increased in 1973, when he and Christopher Bird co-authored The Secret Life of Plants (Tompkins, 1997: 6). By 1975, his father had undertaken a film investigation into the lost city of Atlantis, which Tompkins (at age thirteen) was involved in, sometimes just by hanging around (Tompkins, 1997: 1, 107). Since his father's group was so loosely knit, Tompkins defection is more along the lines of establishing an independent life as an adult. For Tompkins, defection consisted of a loss of faith in his father's New Age ideologies.

Hindu Mysticism: Jeffrey Masson

Similar to Tompkins, Jeffrey Masson's autobiography is not clear on precisely what family guru, Paul Brunton [P.B.] (1898-1981), taught. According to Masson, P.B. is credited with bringing Indian mysticism to the West (1993: front cover flap). Information on P.B.'s teachings are difficult to obtain, with nothing academically published about them. The Paul Brunton Philosophic Foundation also does not clarify his teachings, although it does provide a list of his extensive publications, with titles such as The Quest of the Overself and A Search in Secret Egypt.[16]

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[16] <http://www.paulbrunton.org/pb.php>.

Masson's affiliation with his guru (P.B.) was unique, in that the guru came to his family, instead of his family going to the guru. In December 1945, Masson's father wrote to P.B. and travelled to India to be with him (Masson, 1993: xii, 3). Masson did not indicate at what age he was when P.B. came to live with his family, although he was a young child (Masson, 1993: x). Masson was vague in his autobiography on any sort of timeline. One turning point leading to his disillusionment with P.B., however, was when P.B's prophecy of World War III failed to materialize (Masson, 1993: 150). In addition, P.B's teachings of sexual abstinence collided with Masson's sexuality in his late teens, which forced Masson to "decide either that [P.B.] was wrong, or that [Masson] was immoral and sinful" (Masson, 1993: 150). Studying at Harvard further reinforced Masson's disaffiliation, which "showed [Masson] that what [he] had learned about the history of Indian texts from talking with P.B. was entirely bogus" (Masson, 1993: 155). Masson, therefore, disaffiliated in early adulthood.

A Brief Overview of The Early Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints

Joseph Smith Jr. (1805-1844) was the founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints [LDS] (Palmer and Perrin, 2004: 187). In 1820, at fourteen, he reputedly received a revelation from God and Jesus: "the devil tried to kill Joseph Smith, but the Lord saved him and told him that he had a special mission" (Palmer and Perrin, 2004: 187).[17] According to Mormon history, in

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[17] <http://www.lds.org/churchhistory/presidents/controllers/potcController.jsp?leader=1&topic=events>.

September 1823 the angel Moroni visited Smith five times and revealed the existence of ancient gold plates, and instructed Smith to translate them.[18]

From 1828-1829, Joseph Smith supposedly translated the golden plates with two stones given to him by God, called Urim and Thummim (Palmer and Perrin, 2004: 188).[19] According to Smith's translation, Christ came to North America following his crucifixion to visit the Native American people; the plates contain their true origins and history (Palmer and Perrin, 2004: 188). In 1830, the LDS church officially organized, calling themselves Zion's camp (Palmer and Perrin, 2004: 188). According to Church teachings, "God promised Joseph Smith if he could get the men to be faithful, then He would redeem Zion" (Palmer and Perrin, 2004: 188). The early Mormon Church viewed itself as adding a 'third testament' to the Christian tradition of the Old and New Testaments (Stark, 1987: 13). Joseph Smith's revelation, the Word of Wisdom, also advised members to avoid alcohol, tobacco, and "hot drinks," although members did not strictly follow this restriction prior to the Church's westward migration (Campbell, 1988: 174-175).

Founder Joseph Smith had initiated plural marriage in the group's initial colony in Nauvoo, Illinois, or perhaps in Kirtland, Ohio, but limited the practice to high ranking church leaders before 1847 (Campbell, 1988: 163). According to Eugene Campbell:

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[18] <http://www.lds.org/churchhistory/presidents/controllers/potcController.jsp?leader=1&topic=events>.

[19] <http://www.lds.org/churchhistory/presidents/controllers/potcController.jsp?leader=1&topic=events>.

> In Mormonism men and women are spirit children of God capable of achieving godhood themselves. To do so they must enter into 'the new and everlasting covenant of marriage.' Thus sealed for eternity, Mormon couples will one day procreate spirit children, organize worlds, and people them with their own offspring (1988, 168).

The end-goal of the early Mormon Church was to establish the Kingdom of God on earth (Campbell, 1988: 147). The early members "believed that Christ's millennial reign was imminent" (Campbell, 1988: 136). An angry mob murdered Joseph Smith on June 22, 1844 while he was imprisoned in Carthage, Illinois. In early 1846, Brigham Young, who was Smith's successor, lead the Church migration westward, from Nauvoo, Illinois to the Great Salt Lake Valley (Campbell, 1988: 2). I end my brief overview of the early Mormon Church with Brigham Young's reign, since the autobiography in the sample does not extend past 1876.

Timeline of Affiliation: Ann Eliza Young

In 1812, Young's father, Chauncey G. Webb was born (Young, 1876: 33), and her mother was born in 1817 (Young, 1876: 35). According to Young, at age fifteen, her mother attended a preaching by Joseph Smith Jr., who became the founder of Mormonism (1876: 37). A few months later, her parents kicked her mother out of her family home (Young, 1876: 38). She travelled to Kirtland, Ohio where she met Chauncey G. Webb and befriended Brigham Young (Young, 1876: 38-39). In 1833, Chauncey G. Webb heard the Book of Mormon preached, and joined (Young, 1876: 33).[20] Webb travelled to Kirtland, Ohio, which was to be the site of the new church, Zion, where he met the author's mother, Eliza Churchill (Young, 1876: 33-35). In 1835, the two married (Young, 1876: 39).

The couple travelled with the Church to Davies County, Missouri, then in 1839, the sect suffered from persecution, so it moved to Quincy, Illinois, where they renamed the area Nauvoo (Young, 1876: 50, 51, 53, 54). According to Young, in 1840 in Nauvoo, Smith originally announced the first public belief in the plurality of wives, but retracted it the following Sabbath due to opposition, especially from the women (Young, 1876: 67). In 1843, Joseph Smith first formally produced the Revelation on Celestial Marriage (Young, 1876: 65). The author, Ann Eliza Young, was born in Nauvoo, Illinois on September 13, 1844 — in essence, she was born into the alternative religious group.

In 1846, her father was 'sealed' to her mother, and then to his second wife, Elizabeth Taft (Young, 1876: 103). This second marriage indicates that Young consistently grew up within a polygamous household. Later that spring, the family began to move West, later settling with the sect in the Salt Lake Valley by 1848 (Young, 1876: 113, 122).

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[20] Chauncey G. Webb's parents also joined at the time. I, however, consider both him and his parents to be first-generation members of the early Mormon Church. The key definition of second-generation membership is that it represents the sect's first experiences in child rearing.

Brigham Young delivered the published public announcement of the Revelation on Celestial Marriage in the Seer and the Millennial Star in 1852 (Young, 1876: 65, 68, 77). A significant event in the early history of the Church, the Mountain Meadows Massacre, occurred September 17, 1857 (Young, 1876: 228).[21] In 1863, at age nineteen, the author married James Dee at Endowment House, only to divorce him two years later in Probate Court (Young, 1876: 387, 409). On April 7, 1869, the author married Brigham Young, much to her dismay (Young, 1876: 456). Young left the Church as a young woman with children, but did not specify the date.

Chapter Overview

The introduction established the necessity of providing an initial analysis of second-generation defection. Chapter 2 addresses how I used modified grounded theory to conduct my analysis. I provide an overview of grounded theory, explain how I modified the method, and justify my modifications. I also have included a step-by-step review of how I conducted my analysis, providing a guide for replicating this study.

Chapter 3 addresses the research question: why did former second-generation members write? As outlined in the Introduction, the 'anti-cult' movement champions the reasons for writing critical accounts of alternative religious group socialization, while sympathizers of new religious movements dismiss the accounts' credibility. This chapter provides context for the issue of whether or not apostate accounts are trustworthy. I use the autobiographies themselves to address the research question of why the authors chose to write about their experiences within their respective sects.

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[21] For details on the Mountain Meadows Massacre, see (Campbell, 1988) as well as Chapter 5: "Why Leave, Emotional and Spiritual Abuse."

Chapter 4 provides a detailed account of second-generation defection. Each author individually addressed the research question of 'why stay' in the sect for as long as each defector did. I provide a detailed analysis of the research question 'why did they eventually leave'. I note common factors leading to defection, with detailed examples from each autobiography.

In Chapter 5, I provide secondary sources either supporting or refuting claims made in some of the autobiographies. I also note claims that have no supporting evidence. The intention of this chapter is to provide a broader context for factors leading to defection expressed in the autobiographies, and it helps address the question outlined within the apostate debate as to whether or not defector accounts are trustworthy.

In my Conclusion, Chapter 6, I generate a new model[22] of factors involved in second-generation defection from alternative religious groups. I discuss how differences within the sample may have contributed to defection accounts — for example, more association with non-members increases the likelihood of defection when doubts already are present. I use examples from Hare Krishnas to demonstrate that the factor model is useful across a broad range of alternative religious groups not included in this study. I suggest future research steps and the implications of my results on second-generation defection from alternative religious groups.

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[22] Grounded theory methodology involves the creation of new theory. I use the terms theory and model interchangeably, since the term 'model' is more appropriate to describe my list of factors, yet my model is also a theory in that it is testable and modifiable.

Chapter 2: Methods

Why Use Qualitative Methodology?

Discussing second-generation defection generally suggests using quantitative methods to most accurately reflect rates of defection. I am not examining, however, rates of defection but am studying reasons for defection, since autobiographies do not permit investigation of defection rates. Moreover, investigating alternative religious groups poses unique challenges for quantitative research. In most instances, the groups themselves do not keep the kind of records that quantitative researchers require, involving things like second-generation defection that produce statistics tracking membership. For example, while the Children of God/The Family maintains internal statistics on rates of affiliation, these are likely overestimated, and therefore difficult to trust. Moreover, Chancellor (2000: 19, 226, 242) reported that the Children of God/The Family pointed to increasing membership statistics from World Services, yet admitted in interviews (without, however, providing numbers) that conversion was declining, and second-generation defection was a major problem.

Other alternative religious groups included in this study (such as the Rajneeshees) simply did not produce any internal statistics (Guest: 2003). Additionally, the high turnover rates in most alternative religious groups make it difficult to obtain longitudinal data (Ayella: 1993). Furthermore, other alternative religious groups have since disbanded, such as the Great White Brotherhood/The Family (Hamilton-Byrne: 1995), apparently insinuating rates of disaffiliation for the second-generation was at 100%. This conclusion would be misleading if not confusing, however, because the group disbanded due to legal troubles (Hamilton-Byrne: 1995). A qualitative method, specifically grounded theory, is therefore the most useful method for assessing reasons for affiliation/disaffiliation of second-generation sectarian members who have written about their own departures.

Unit of Analysis

I remind the reader, because the research materials that I used are autobiographies, the primary unit of analysis appears to be the individual. Unlike the first-generation, however, who disaffiliated from 'mainstream' society to join alternative religious groups, the second-generation has only ever known the alternative religious groups — they are their 'societies.' As such, it is impossible to separate the individuals from the groups, especially if the children were isolated completely from outside societies, as was the case with Sarah Hamilton-Byrne (1995). The unit of study, then, is the individual *within an alternative religious setting.* The two units of study (the individual and the group) are irrevocably intertwined.

Grounded Theory

The end-goal of grounded theory is to generate new theory (Charmaz: 2000; Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 1, 2; Strauss and Corbin: 1990). According to Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, "theory based on data can usually not be completely refuted by more data or replaced by another theory" (1967: 4). This difficulty in refuting generated theory is a strength of grounded theory methodology, which supports my effort to develop a new theory to explain factors relating to second-generation defection. Researchers have also not yet addressed the research questions that I pose of 'why write?,' 'why stay?,' and 'why leave?,' which also supports the generation of theory.

One key tenet of grounded theory is that the researcher must remain neutral, especially during data collection (Strauss & Corbin: 1990). Using primary sources with second-generation authorship for this thesis, therefore, ensures that researcher bias does not 'lead the participant.' Glaser and Strauss, however, who are the originators of grounded theory, did not expect a researcher to completely approach the data "as a tabula rasa," but instead to "have a perspective that will help [a researcher] see relevant data and abstract significant categories from [a researcher's] scrutiny of the data" (1967: 3, n.3). Some bias with the researcher, or the data, therefore, is permissible and natural. Since the autobiographies focus on second-generation defection from alternative religious groups, some bias in sample selection suggests a negative reflection on their respective alternative religious groups. To minimize this bias, I have used Chapter 5 to test claims made by the authors against their respective groups, and present evidence that may verify or refute their claims.

The grounded theory methodology of Strauss and Corbin (1990) is especially suited to this thesis, as they propose "'giving voice to their respondents [and] representing them as accurately as possible'" (qtd. in Charmaz: 2000: 510). Second-generation authorship in the sample gives the research subjects direct voice. Data collection should provide "extensive amounts of rich data with thick descriptions" (Charmaz: 2000: 514). Again, autobiographies by their very nature provide extraordinary amounts of data, and "thick descriptions." According to Charmaz (2000: 510-511), grounded theory includes:

a) simultaneous collection and analysis of data
b) a two-step data coding process
c) comparative methods
d) memo writing aimed at the construction of conceptual analyses
e) sampling to refine the researcher's emerging theoretical ideas and
f) integration of the theoretical framework

Grounded theory, therefore, is highly suitable for this thesis, since existing literature fails to provide an existing theory about second-generation defection for me to use.

Simultaneous Collection and Analysis of Data

I modified grounded theory methodology, however, to correspond to the data form of autobiographies. For example, "simultaneous" collection and analysis of data was not wholly possible, as the data is pre-existing (the primary data form is the published autobiography). Therefore, I am providing a secondary analysis of data. I analyzed the autobiographies individually as I gained access to them. I began with Hong (1998), Guest (2003), and Hamilton-Byrne (1995), then added Masson (1993) and Tompkins (1997). Since Jones, Jones and Buhring (2007) was not released in Canada until October 2007, I analyzed it later than the other autobiographies. Similarly, I did not have access to Young (1876) until the fall of 2007, again analyzing it later than the first five autobiographies.

Two-Step Data Coding Process

Coding data also is a key component of grounded theory. Charmaz (2000: 515) recommended coding the data as it emerges, and refining coding to emerging concepts. I used selective/focused coding to sort my data. "Selective or focused coding uses initial codes that reappear frequently to sort large amounts of data" (Charmaz, 2000: 516). Selective coding, therefore, is appropriate for comparing the large amounts of data found within autobiographies. For coding my data, I first sorted it into the relevant research questions (Why do they write? Why do they stay so long? Why do they leave?). I then divided each question into sub-categories as they emerged. For example, Sarah Hamilton-Byrne's (1995) memoir described the horrific punishment technique of food deprivation. I coded this example under the 'why do they leave' question, with a sub-heading of 'physical abuse,' further broken down to 'food deprivation.'

Glaser and Strauss suggested that "emergent categories usually prove to be the most relevant and the best fitted to the data" (1967: 37). Initially, the only research question large enough to generate sub-categories was 'why leave?' which is predictable, considering that the autobiographies are all second-generation defection literature. For example, early coding of autobiographies revealed two broad categories contributing to second-generation defection:

institutional abuse and abuses of personhood. I define these terms further in Chapter 4.

Two sub-categories emerged within institutional abuses: familial abuse and educational abuse. I define familial abuse as sect beliefs or practices that intentionally threaten the stability of the nuclear family unit. I define educational abuse as the alternative religious group intentionally withholding opportunities from the children to develop life-skills, providing sub-par teaching services, teaching false information, and/or omitting teaching subjects such as history or science. These factors constitute educational abuse because they limit the opportunities available to second-generation children especially if they leave the sect.

Abuses of personhood generated more sub-categories, which are physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional/psychological abuse, and spiritual abuse. Since spiritual abuse is a newer concept within the literature without any specific definition, I defined spiritual abuse as leadership using promises and threats of supposedly otherworldly rewards and punishments to ensure compliance of second-generation members on issues that are likely to be detrimental to their physical and/or emotional health. Spiritual abuse occurs when leadership actively discourages doubts and questions, and may even punish members for voicing doubts. A key component of spiritual abuse is that it ultimately benefits leaders over followers, so that leadership deification is one of its many forms.

Spiritual abuse differs from emotional/psychological abuse by its use of supposedly supernatural (as opposed to purely secular) claims and actions. For example, with emotional/psychological abuse, leadership may threaten the safety of family members outside of the group without invoking any divine justification for doing so. With emotional/psychological abuse, the group may consider outsiders a threat to the group's survival (for example, through legal action). With spiritual abuse, leadership may demonize outsiders, thus providing an 'otherworldly' consequence for critics, such as critics allegedly going to hell. Spiritual abuse of children is especially insidious, since they have not yet reached a level of cognitive development necessary for discussing otherworldly issues at an abstract level. The autobiographies most frequently cited spiritual abuse as a factor relating to second-generation defection.

Physical abuse, however, was the most extensive factor leading to second-generation defection, and generated so much material that it required further sub-categorization. The physical abuse sub-categories generated by the sample are beatings, food deprivation, drug taking, living conditions, and miscellaneous/other.

Comparative Methods

According to Charmaz, "the constant comparative method" of grounded theory means:

a) comparing different people (such as their views, situations, actions, accounts, and experiences);

b) comparing data from the same individuals with themselves at different points in time;

c) comparing incident with incident;

d) comparing data with category; and

e) comparing a category with other categories (2000: 515).

Using second-generation autobiographies automatically ensures that I meet these points of comparative methods. Through generating codes, I compared the author's claims to others that he or she made across time, as well as looking for commonalities between autobiographies that would support or modify my codes. For example, the constant comparative method, as outlined by Glaser and Strauss (1967: 105-113), first involves "comparing incidents applicable to each category" (105). Physical abuse, for example, emerged early from the autobiographies. For every instance of physical abuse that I recorded, I compared it to other examples of physical abuse from within each autobiography, and then cross-compared it to my notes on physical abuse from other autobiographies in the sample. I then refined my category of physical abuse to include the sub-categories listed above.

Memo Writing Aimed at the Construction of Conceptual Analyses

Glaser and Strauss recommended stopping coding and recording a memo when conflicts emerge within a coded category (1967: 107). I modified this recommendation of memo writing, choosing instead to generate new categories when conflicts emerged within the data. For example, I initially coded some of the examples of spiritual abuse under emotional/psychological abuse. As coding continued, however, I realized spiritual abuse was a separate, distinct concept and therefore redefined my coding categories to include one for spiritual abuse.

Sampling to Refine the Researcher's Emerging Theoretical Ideas

I also modified this step in grounded theory technique to better represent the sample of autobiographies. For example, "sampling to refine the researcher's emerging theoretical ideas" only can happen within each of the texts and between the texts. I cannot add or eliminate any additional autobiographies because the current sample represents all second-generation authored book-length publications. My definitions for 'second-generation' and 'alternative religious group' outlined in the introduction determined which autobiographies met those parameters. Since the sample provides a 'whole,' theoretical sampling of 'parts' is not necessary.

Integration of the Theoretical Framework

The end theory generated is substantive theory, in that it "is grounded in research on one particular substantive area" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 79), in this case specifically alternative religious groups. Their unique dynamics within the sociology of religion prevents this theory of second-generation defection from being generalized to mainstream religious groups, and thus from becoming formal theory (which would be a general, large theory targeting all religious disaffiliation). Constructing an end-theory of second-generation defection from alternative religious groups, however, follows the tradition of objectivist grounded theories. The assumption of objectivist grounded theory is "that following a systematic set of methods leads [the researcher] to discover reality and to construct a provisionally true, testable, and ultimately verifiable 'theory'" (Charmaz, 2000: 524). Objectivist grounded theory ensures reliability and validity of data, the ability to hypothesis test the newly generated theory, and allows for controlled variables (Charmaz, 2000: 524). By using additional second-generation sources from the same groups represented in the autobiographies to test the validity of the autobiographies (as I do in Chapter 5) I am also lending credence to my categories generated by grounded theory. In my conclusion, I also provide examples from second-generation members of an alternative religious group (the Hare Krishnas) not represented in the autobiographies. These additional examples act as initial hypothesis testing on the validity and reliability of my theory of second-generation defection from alternative religious groups.

In sum, I have modified grounded theory methodology to best reflect the limited available sample of second-generation autobiographies. Modified grounded theory methodology is the most appropriate method to use for this thesis because it generates new theory and currently no exiting theory explains second-generation defection from alternative religious groups.

Chapter 3: Why Do They Write?

Introduction

This chapter addresses the question of why some second-generation defectors from alternative religious groups have chosen to write their autobiographies. Within the literature, researchers have generally ignored second-generation defectors, instead focusing on the experiences of first-generation defectors. The factors pertaining to their defection spurred the 'apostate debate,' which essentially questions the truthfulness of former members' accounts of sectarian life. In this chapter, I broaden the debate of apostate account validity by introducing allegations made by second-generation members. First, I provide an overview of the 'apostate debate' to lend context to whether or not second-generation defection accounts are valid. The debate addresses the truthfulness of their accounts. Second, since some researchers attack the motives for writing defection accounts, I use the autobiographies themselves to answer the question 'why do they write.' This section addresses the motives for writing.

An Overview of 'Apostate Debate'

The existing literature on second-generation defection arises from two camps: the 'anti-cult movement,' which its critics accuse of religious bigotry; and the 'new religious movement apologists,' with their critics accusing them of neglecting the dangers posited by some alternative religious groups. Likewise, many researchers tend to use information from either loyal followers or critical apostates, with each group questioning the reliability of the other's sources. According to Langone:

> sympathizers, who tend to be academics in sociology and religious studies, have published widely, while critics, who tend with some notable exceptions to be mental health professionals, have not published as much and have not usually responded to sympathizers' critiques of the so-called "anticult movement" (ACM), which typically is presented as including professional and academic critics (2000: 79-80).

Significantly, the initial 'cult wars,' which focused on first-generation ex-members, are "uniquely heated because of its origins in the emotional deprogramming/kidnapping issue" (Robbins, 2001: 77). The 'cult wars' involved the dubious legal issue of parents kidnapping their adult children from alternative religious groups and 'deprogramming' them into resuming their pre-group life.

The research focus behind these wars involved the 'brainwashing debate.' One camp argued that members affiliated willingly, therefore requiring no need for 'rescuing,' while the other camp insisted that the 'cults' 'brainwashed' members, therefore requiring forcible removal from them (Robbins, 2001: 77). This 'brainwashing' debate, however, is different in relation to second-generation members, since the issue of free choice in initial affiliation does not apply to them. An overview, however, of the initial literature concerning first-generation apostates will provide a context against which to evaluate newer literature on second-generation apostates.

The Value of Apostates Claiming to Have Been Brainwashed

By accusing the alternative religious group of 'brainwashing' them, former members alleviate responsibility for their actions while in the sect. Therefore, if the public viewed an ex-member's sect as a destructive cult, the public then would sympathize with the ex-member as a 'victim' and not as a co-perpetrator in negative sect activities. Although many first-generation defectors claimed to have been 'brainwashed,' some academic circles refused to acknowledge their claims. According to Zablocki (1997), the idea that 'brainwashing' even occurs within alternative religious groups has received such backlash from sociological and religious studies circles that articles supporting the 'brainwashing theory' have been "blacklist[ed]" from some academic journals.

These differing perspectives lead to conflicting, and often contradictory, reports of quality of life within a sect. The issue of reliability of ex-member testimony has continued within the 'new' set of second-generation ex-members. Unlike the first-generation members, however, second-generation ex-member testimony has not sparked a revival of the 'apostate debate.' Lingering from that debate, however, is whether second-generation ex-member accounts are truthful representations of sectarian life. Like first-generation members, interviews given by second-generation members and ex-members differ greatly. For example, Kent (2005; 2004; 2004; Kent & Hall: 2000) has documented abuses suffered by the second-generation in the Children of God/The Family. In contrast, other social scientists have praised the virtues of child rearing in the Children of God/The

Family (Lilliston: 1997; Lilliston & Shepherd: 1994; Palmer: 1994; Shepherd & Lilliston: 1994; and Shepherd & Shepherd: 2005). Chancellor (2000: 226) recounted one interview where the subject told him about her sexual abuse as a child in the Children of God/The Family, yet admitted she previously told another researcher how wonderful her childhood in the sect was — consciously omitting reporting abuse.

Contradictions on whether or not child abuse is occurring in the Children of God/The Family, for example, complicate the validity of the literature. Palmer and Hardman (1999) have published the only comprehensive collection of academic articles on the experiences of the second-generation. They represented both views on whether or not some alternative religious groups are harmful to children, yet reached no conclusions. Similarly, conclusive factors leading to second-generation defection continue to remain unclear.

The possibilities, then, are that only one researcher camp is 'right' or both are 'right' relative to their samples. This chapter provides an overview of the theoretical debate of whether ex-member testimony is valid, while Chapters 4 and 5 directly assess the validity of claims made in the autobiographies. Additionally, instead of relying on the literature to propose motives for critical ex-member accounts, focusing directly on second-generation authorship helps to clarify these motives for writing. The ex-members tell their stories in their own words (and with their own agendas), without additional complications arising from researchers' agendas and biases.

Those Against Trusting 'Apostate' Accounts:

The research question 'why write?' derives from the debate as to whether defectors' accounts of sectarian life are truthful. Researchers who do not trust these accounts give the defectors the title "apostates," and accuse them of producing "atrocity tales" (Bromley, Shupe, and Ventimiglia: 1979; Lalich: 2001). Members who remain loyal to the group consider apostates "the worst outsiders, because they once had 'the truth' but now turn their backs on it" (Whitsett & Kent, 2003: 496). Bromley (1998a,b), Wright (1998, 1995), and Lewis (1995) go so far as to propose the idea of the 'career apostate' (Lalich, 2001: 141), which is an ex-member who consistently speaks out publicly against his or her former group, generally in media settings (Bromley, 1998b: 37-38).

The primary reason that sympathetic researchers discount apostate accounts is that sympathetic researchers accuse the anti-cult movement of influencing them (Barker, 1998: 82; Bromley: 1998b; Johnson, 1998: 186; Lewis: 1995; Palmer, 1998: 206; Shupe: 1998; Wright, 1998: 100). Wright (1998: 102) accused ex-members working with the anti-cult movement as using "a powerful niche from which to wage a political campaign against NRMs [new religious movements]." It is not that sympathetic, 'pro-cult' researchers discredit apostate accounts by demonstrating that their allegations are false; instead, sympathetic researchers appear to see apostate accounts as an attack against new religious movements in general, and therefore frame apostate accounts as religious persecution.

Sympathetic researchers, therefore, are acting politically to discount negative ex-member testimony, in order to protect alternative religious groups from perceived bigotry. For example, Melton and Moore (1982: 171) "criticized anti-NRM [new religious movement] sources as 'shallow and full of errors'" (Beit-Hallahmi, 2001: 62). Richardson (1999: 172) suggested defectors from alternative religious movements use "a major new tactic — child abuse allegations [. . .] to inhibit the growth and prosperity of exotic religious groups." Sympathetic researchers also accuse disaffiliated members of alleging abuse for monetary compensation (Chancellor: 2000). Additionally, sympathetic researchers accuse apostates of using the courts to further their anti-cult agenda (Johnson, 1998: 185).

The largest collection of 'anti-apostate' literature involves first-generation apostasy (Bromley: 1998). Bromley (1998b) differentiates between three types of ex-members: defectors, whistle-blowers, and apostates. Defectors leave the sect due to their personal failure as members, and do not speak out against their former sect, but may form support groups (Bromley, 1998b: 29). Whistle-blowers actively negotiate their defection with outside organizations, only once they have exhausted all internal sect avenues for 'justice' (Bromley, 1998b: 32-33). Apostates, in contrast, exit high-demand organizations, and face "considerable pressure [. . .] to negotiate a narrative with the oppositional coalition that offers an acceptable explanation for participation in the organization and for now once again reversing loyalties" (Bromley, 1998b: 36-37). Thus, according to Bromley, by pressure from the anti-cult movement (either through deprogramming or exitcounseling), apostates "typically fashion their personal sagas as captivity narratives" (Bromley, 1998b: 41). Therefore, "apostates do not function as witnesses or whistleblowers; their primary function is moral condemnation of the NRMs" (Bromley and Shupe, 1979).

From a different perspective, Langone claimed, "sympathizers tended to discount the negative reports of ex-members and critics, attributing them to the social indoctrination processes of the ACM" (2000: 83). For example, new religious movement researchers, Palmer and Hardman, suggested:

> the conspicuous presence of children in communities that are marginal, mysterious, and perceived as weird and threatening has provided a new weapon for the anticult movement, resulting in the frequent and fashionable accusations of child abuse in all its ugly manifestations (1999: 3).

This statement suggests that child abuse does not occur in alternative religious movements, and that the ACM is manipulating ex-members into making accusations. Palmer and Hardman further blamed the "public's tendency to believe the horror stories of anonymous apostates quoted in poorly researched media reports" (1999: 7). In addition, Palmer and Hardman (1999: 4) dismissed prominent ACM researcher Margaret Singer's claims that children in cults are "total victims," referring to this view as "hackneyed."

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Palmer defended her trust of current member accounts (and implied mistrust of ex-member accounts), likening it to:

> An anthropologist claiming to be an expert on an Aboriginal tribe, but who only interviews Aborigines once they have migrated to the city; one who has never ventured into the outback, let alone visited or lived with the tribe (2001: 107).

Palmer also disagrees with 'anticult' researchers' Kent and Krebs's (1998) warnings that alternative religious movements seeking legitimacy are "manipulating or making deals with scholars," thus affecting their research results (Palmer, 2001: 109).

As a NRM sympathizer, Palmer finds Kent and Krebs's "assumptions about the character of NRMs, about the brains of researchers, and about the research methodology in general" "disquieting" (Palmer, 2001: 109). According to Palmer:

> Scholars who rely exclusively on ex-members or second-hand research for their data understandably lack any sense of the complex political situations and serious ethical decisions that confront the more energetic, less squeamish scholars who are willing to go into controversial communities (2001: 111).

When discussing second-generation apostates, however, new religion sympathetic scholar Barker admitted, "secrets from parents and other adults are commonly shared among children, who soon learn to identify informers and skillfully to avoid revealing confidences to the 'tell-tale-tits'" (1998: 88).

Richardson (1999: 178) accused ex-members of the Children of God/The Family of working "in collusion with the anticult movement" to mount charges against the sect in different countries. One collection of academic literature supporting mistrust of 'apostate' accounts of the Children of God/The Family had the editor claim "that child abuse [accusations were] little more than an emotionally-charged excuse for persecuting a minority religious group" (Lewis and Melton, 1994: vii). Lilliston (1997:63) argued, "there is little evidence for systemic abuse or rights of members or laws by most new religious movements." Like Lilliston, Lewis asserted, "The Family does *not* abuse its children" (1994: vii, italics in original). These statements directly contrast the abuses outlined by the Jones sisters in Chapter 5. This collection of articles written by sympathetic academics, however, was initiated by The Children of God/The Family "to combat the negative publicity and other attacks" from the 'anti-cult' movement (Lewis, 1995: vi).

Researchers who use Apostate Accounts

Researchers in favor of 'trusting' ex-member accounts generally work in psychiatry or psychology [which unlike sociologist and new religion scholars, view 'cult' behavior as deviant rather than merely being a new social phenomenon] (Langone: 2000). Some NRM [new religious movement] researchers have suggested that mental health professionals in the United States serve as social control agents in suppressing NRMs, through 'the medicalization of deviant religious behavior' (Hadden: 1990; Robbins and Anthony: 1982). From this political standpoint, ex-member testimony is valid as it supports the view of the 'harmful cult' versus the 'struggling new religion'.

Just as 'cult sympathetic' researchers insult the research of those researchers involved with the ACM, the ACM in turn mistrusts research results generated by sympathetic researchers. Lalich (2001: 141) argued, "the image of the vengeful, fabricating apostate has a shabby foundation." Such accusations include the sympathizers' assumptions that "a stigmatized and arguably persecuted new religious movement is somehow more virtuous, straightforward, and above-board than groups in general" (Robbins, 2001: 83). Additionally, "some scholars have been accused of taking money from cults to support their research" (Robbins, 2001: 83). Lastly, some alternative religious groups actively seek out sympathetic researchers to "whitewash" controversial issues, and although appearing cooperative, may be directly influencing the study by avoiding "any engagement with the group's 'underside'" (Robbins, 2001: 84).

In contrast to Palmer's (2001) glowing support of accounts by current members, Lalich warned:

> There is no way to know how many times researchers have been successfully 'fooled' by [alternative religious] groups, in the sense that the researchers were shown a version of reality that either differed from the typical daily life or hid from view the negative or controversial aspects (2001: 125).

Even sympathetic researcher Carter (1998: 233) admitted, "the problem is that in many traditions "'believers' (or current practitioners) may tend to edit what they report into terms which show the movement in a positive light."

Lalich identified numerous problems that researchers encounter when relying on current members for research: tricks and setups; demands, restrictions, and intimidations; sect informants operating as PR agents; and researcher susceptibility to the cult's appeal (Lalich, 2001: 126, 131, 133, 134). Tricks and setups involve sect-directed selected interviews, selected topics for discussion, and staged events (Lalich, 2001: 126). Demands, restrictions, and intimidations include, for example, the sect controlling visiting times, access to members, approving the research questions in advance, and even demanding final approval of the published report (Lalich, 2001: 131). Lalich also warned how the researcher may encounter trained behavior from their interviewees, who serve as "spin masters" for the public's perception of their sect (2001: 133). Lastly, Lalich encouraged the researcher to be wary, as the researcher is entering into an environment dominated by charismatic leadership, which may sway the researcher's impressions (2001: 134). Lalich is a strong supporter of ex-member accounts, noting how they "have provided valuable insights into complex phenomenon" (2001: 142).

In contrast to 'cult sympathetic' researchers arguing that 'apostate' accounts cannot be trusted, 'cult critical' researchers have concluded that ex-member testimony is a credible source. Zablocki (1996) studied 281 members of communal religious sects, including 105 ex-members, 176 members, and 109 members in a control group of non-religious communes. Zablocki's findings suggest "no significant difference [existed] between the reliability of believer accounts and apostate accounts" (Lalich, 2001: 140). Balch and Langdon (1998: 201) also concluded, "defectors are more trustworthy than sociologists like to believe." Researchers supportive of using ex-member accounts also point out how "ethnographers rarely see anything but front-stage behavior," making ex-member accounts even more valuable (Lalich, 2001: 140; Wilson: 1988; Zablocki: 1996).

The ACM researchers provided a ready outlet for negative allegations, perhaps at the expense of a balanced outlook. Unlike the idea of the 'career apostate,' however, Lalich suggested that ex-members are often hesitant to speak out because they are "self-critical, cautious, stigmatized, and fearful of lawsuits" (2001: 141). Accounts of sectarian life by disaffiliated members, however, has proven its legitimacy both in the academic and legal arena. For example, Kent (2004; 2004; 2000) relied strongly on his interviews with Merry Berg, granddaughter of David Berg, in uncovering extensive sexual and physical abuse within the Children of God/The Family. In Britain, Lord Justice Ward relied on disaffiliated members' testimony against the Children of God/The Family, at times doubting the truthfulness of testimony from current members of the sect (Freckelton: 1998). The Children of God/The Family also have established Media Homes to address inquiries from researchers and media (Kent: 2000). These Media Homes train the sect's children in public relation responses, which in effect, decrease the validity of arguments from researchers who are sympathetic to the Children of God/The Family.

Furthermore, The Children of God/The Family actively attempted to discredit the experiences of second-generation members who are critical of the sect, "demonizing and dehumanizing them to the group's remaining members" (Kent, 2005: 138-139; Kent, 2004: 64). I discuss sect responses to apostate accounts further in Chapter 4. Accounts by disaffiliated members, therefore, are necessary for uncovering the reality of sectarian life.

Some Problems with Autobiographical Memory

Within the sample that I am using for this thesis, one must be concerned about whether claims concerning abusive events within the alternative religious environment are the results of false memory syndrome, self-deception in autobiographical memory, or deliberate deception. I briefly discuss the imperfection of autobiographical memory, as it influences the debate about whether 'apostate' accounts are credible. Additionally, therapists may be reluctant to discuss recovered memories of abuse, as it is "hard to distinguish whether recovered memories [are] memories of fantasies, because unconscious wishes and fears [can] influence memory" (Goldberg, 2003:247). For example, Goldberg (2003: 249) noted how within one isolationist psychotherapy cult in the Northwest, every member (after undergoing group 'psychotherapy') had recalled memories of sexual abuse by their fathers, which seems highly unlikely. FMS is not applicable to my sample, however, as it implies adult recall of childhood abuse through the help of a therapist (Pope: 1997). The authors in the sample do not claim adult recall of 'repressed' memories of abuse. Nevertheless, Chapter 5 provides supporting and contradictory evidence for the accounts of abuse that the authors frequently made, and it also notes what abuse claims I am unable to verify or challenge.

Using ex-member autobiographies to begin to theorize about second-generation defection from alternative religious groups poses additional questions about the accuracy of autobiographies in general. Johnson, for example stated, "apostate accounts are essentially autobiographies, and autobiographies are never perfect works of non-fiction" (1998: 118). Furthermore, "the autobiographical elements of apostate narratives are further shaped by a concern that the targeted religious groups be painted in the worst possible light" (Johnson, 1998: 118).

Moreover, experimentation in cognitive psychology has demonstrated that memory is highly plastic, easily influenced by suggestion and influence (Loftus: 1993). It is especially difficult to assess the validity of children recalling memories, as young children can be influenced to remember differently from week to week (Ceci, Ross, & Toglia: 1987). Nelson (1992), however, noted that autobiographical memory[23] develops around age four, and evidence suggests episodic memory[24] exists prior to age four. Therefore, recollections of abuse at that young of an age are plausibly 'real' memories, and not false autobiographical ones.

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[23] Autobiographical memory refers to memory for important experiences or events that have happened to an individual (Shaffer, 1999: G1).
[24] Episodic memory is more specific than autobiographical memory, in that it pertains to a specific event in an individual's life.

Additionally, Schwartz (2002) discovered that current relationship status affected memory recall. Schwartz (2002) compared data collected on the parent-child relationship following the birth of the child in 1928 or 1929, and at checkpoints in 1946, 1969, and 1982. Significantly, both the current rating of parent-child relationship and life satisfaction were better predictors of the recollection of the past relationship than the initial reporting of the relationship (Schwartz: 2002). These findings suggest that the current attitude of second-generation members towards their parents, and current life satisfaction, influences whether they view their autobiographic recall of sect experiences more positively or more negatively.

Interestingly, the psychology literature does not study motivation in relation to autobiographical recall. Instead, researchers tend to focus on developmental aspects of autobiographical memory (Bruhn: 1990; Eakin: 2000; Fitzgerald: 1980), the use of self-narratives in therapeutic settings (Endo: 2006; Hermans; 2004; Pals: 2001; Ziller: 2000), or autobiographical recall in patients with physiological mental impairments (dalla Barba, Cipolotti, and Denes: 1990; Cimino et al: 1991; Kopelman, Wilson, and Baddeley: 1989; Lopez-Duran: 2007). In conclusion, the literature reveals very little in terms of whether 'apostate' autobiographies are accurate in terms of reliability of memory recall.

Assessing autobiographical validity is nearly impossible, therefore, without consulting outside evidence to verify autobiographical claims.

Why Do They Write?

The 'apostate debate' involves a theoretical disagreement over what motivates an ex-member to publicize his or her experiences about sectarian life, and whether the accounts of those experiences are valid. Underlying the debate, however, is the issue of whether researchers should encourage alternative religious groups to flourish, or whether researchers should warn the public to view them with suspicion and mistrust. This issue is especially critical, because some of the alternative religious groups become child-rearing institutions. Evidence put forward, however, by both sides in this debate has focused on topics primarily relevant to first-generation members, such as brainwashing and deprogramming. Accusations of child abuse against alternative religious movements are relatively new within the 'apostate debate' literature. Using autobiographies to directly address the question of 'why do they write' eliminates the theoretical posturing by both sides of the debate, and allows the authors themselves to state why they bothered to speak out.

It is significant to note that all the second-generation members included in the sample felt strongly enough about their experiences to write books. The amount of time and effort, and the attainment of the necessary writing skills, strongly suggests that the experiences of sectarian life was so overwhelmingly negative that they felt compelled to record them.

A second-generation member speaking out against his or her former sect is not a new occurrence. Second-generation members who have disaffiliated have given media interviews (radio, television, and print media), and formed on-line communities (such as *MovingOn.org* for children raised in the Children of God/The Family) to talk about their negative experiences of growing up in an abusive sect. The limited scope of this thesis, however, prevents me from analyzing these additional mediums.

Some of the autobiographies in the sample provide direct answers to the question 'why write?'.[25] On one occasion, 'why write?' was simply an extension of encouragement from a favorite teacher to write about upsetting experiences with maternal absences (Guest: 2004: 271). The overarching theme, however, appears to be a drive to expose the sect's abuses. Hamilton-Byrne wrote about her "need to articulate experiences of the past and be understood because of them and accepted despite them" (1995: 170). Feelings, therefore, of being 'wronged' in some way by the sect likely prompted at least some second-generation members to write.

Young (1876) is the most vocal author in the sample as to why she chose to write about her experiences leading to her defection from the early Mormon Church. She wrote:

> It is with a desire to impress upon the world what Mormonism really is; to show the pitiable condition of its women, held in a system of bondage that

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[25] Tompkins (1997) does not specify why he chose to write, nor does Masson (1993).

> is more cruel than African slavery ever was, since it claims to hold body and soul alike; to arouse compassion for its children and youth, born and growing up in an atmosphere of social impurity; and, above all, to awaken an interest in the hearts of the American people that shall at length deepen into indignation, — that I venture to undertake the task of writing this book (Young, 1876: 32).

Young, therefore, was very much operating in the 'whistleblower' tradition of apostasy identified by Bromley (1998b).

Young also addressed the difficulty in writing an autobiography because some of the memories were painful, likening writing to "opening old wounds which [she] had fondly hoped were healed" (Young, 1876: 32). Young made it clear, however, that she was "not upholding the Mormon faith," finding it "the falsest, most hypocritical, and most cruel belief under the sun" (1876: 59). Young chose to take the step of writing about her dissatisfaction instead of addressing leadership, since she accused the early Mormon Church leaders of being:

> surprisingly selfish, caring only for their personal aggrandizement, disloyal to the government under which they live, treacherous to their friends, revengeful to their foes; insincere, believing nothing which they teach, and tyrannical and grasping in the extreme, taking everything that their lustful eyes may desire, and greedy, grasping hands can clutch, no matter at whose expense it may be taken, or what suffering the appropriation my cause (1876: 59-60).

Clearly, Young felt very strongly about exposing what she alleged were 'wrongs' perpetrated by the early Mormon Church. Young, therefore, was opposed deeply to the leadership guiding the movement.

Young admitted that by writing, she broke her secrecy vows made during her Endowment (baptism into the faith), but justified speaking out of a sense of justice and duty "to expose, as far as [she] possibly can, the wickedness, cruelty, blasphemy, and disloyalty of the leaders of the deluded Mormon people" (Young, 1876: 371). Young saw herself in the role of advocate on behalf of the thousands powerless to speak for themselves, specifically the women "begging for freedom from both social and religious tyranny" (Young, 1876: 601). Young wrote that she considered it her "life mission" to see "the foul curse removed, and Utah [. . .] free from the unholy rule of the religious tyrant, — Brigham Young" (Young, 1876: 605).

Even though Young's intent was to expose the sect's abuses, vengeance did not appear to motivate most of the authors. Hong indicated that she wrote her autobiographical account about her life as a 'Moonie' because she wanted her children to understand why she chose to defect (1998:97). Surprisingly, Sarah Hamilton-Byrne, who arguably suffered the most abuse of all the former members whom I discuss, stated:

> Despite everything, I don't want to see [Anne] suffer. There's no reason to see her suffer. Revenge isn't a motivating factor in my life. You can't live your life like that, hoping to see people punished for their actions. To a

> degree [Anne's] actions are largely irrelevant to me. I suppose what I am saying is that I have forgiven Anne [. . .]Secretly, maybe I still love her (1995: 211-212).

Hamilton-Byrne additionally noted the difficulty in accepting that there would be no formal legal repercussions against Anne (1995: 217). These statements suggest that academics who accuse defectors of being motivated solely by money or escaping responsibility are misrepresenting people's motives.

Speaking against their sects, however, is still a political act. Hamilton-Byrne was the most overtly aware of the repercussions of her speaking out. She predicted that Anne's followers would deny her accusations, calling her insane and a liar (1995: 214). Hamilton-Byrne, however, insisted on "telling [the children's] story over and over again on television [to] guarantee the politicians' support [of] new inquiries or changes to legislation that mean[s] adoption searches become swifter" (1995: 215). Hamilton-Byrne was referring to the difficulty that she and her siblings had in finding their birth parents following dissolution of the sect. 'Why do they write?' suggests that these authors were not motivated by selfish quests for monetary compensation, nor media attention, but rather were making sincere attempts to bring personal closure to, and exposure of, undetected and ignored child abuse.

The Jones sisters also claimed to write out of sense of justice and advocacy for second-generation victims of child abuse within the Children of God/The Family (2007). They explained:

> those who have bravely spoken out about their suffering have been vilified and slandered by their former abusers. Our hope is that in telling our story, [the reader] will hear the voices of the children [whom the sect] tried to silence (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: x).

Like Young (1876), Celeste Jones wrote about seeking justice (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 357). She did seek legal redress, writing affidavits to the FBI and the police in the UK (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 357). Her sister, Kristina Jones, also gave a number of statements to police, starting around age fourteen, making her one of the first second-generation members to speak publicly against the sect (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 243). Interestingly, although Chancellor (2000) accused ex-members of using the courts for monetary compensation for alleged abuses suffered, for Kristina Jones this type of compensation did not matter. Even though the U.K's Criminal Injuries Compensation Board awarded her five thousand pounds, she made it clear that the money "did not matter to [her] as much as the precedent it set" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 286-287).

Like Hamilton-Byrne, the treatment of fellow children within her sect encouraged Celeste Jones to speak out. She explained how the deaths of sect-heir Davidito (Ricky Rodriguez) and her half-sister Davida motivated her to do an interview with ABC News in order "to speak the truth and tell what had happened to him – to [her], to [their] generation" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 359). Celeste also is critical of ex-members "who try and hide from their past," likening exposing abuse to exposing an open wound in order to treat it (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 361). Celeste Jones also addressed the alleged injustice of "pedophiles still remain[ing] protected by the Family, while the victims — their children — have been threatened and slandered" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 363). Celeste Jones, therefore, was also indirectly writing to promote treating ex-member accounts as valid.

Juliana Buhring, who is Celeste's half-sister and co-author, did not specify her reasons for speaking out, but Kristina Jones did. Like her older sister Celeste, Kristina cited concern for the abuse that she alleges is still happening within the Children of God/The Family (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 239). She also supported using second-generation accounts, as they represent "first-hand knowledge," especially since she accused parents in the sect of not speaking out (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 239). Kristina noted that even though her mother knew child abuse was occurring, "she was scared that if she aggravate[d] the Family they would never let her see Celeste again [who was still a member at the time]" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 243). Also like Celeste Jones, Kristina Jones noted that by speaking out, her father slandered her mother for "vilifying and degrading the good work of [. . .] the Children of God" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 244). For the Jones sisters, therefore, compiling the autobiography was not an easy process, but similar to the other authors in the sample, they cited truth and justice as the primary motivators in choosing to write about their experiences.

In sum, ex-member accounts are a rich resource. Unlike 'cult sympathetic' researchers suggest, ex-member testimony is a rich representation of alternative religious life. Moreover, the motivation for writing does not appear to be influenced by the 'evil anti-cult movement,' nor by monetary compensation, but instead derives from a sincere effort to speak out against alleged abuses within some alternative religious groups. The claims made by sympathetic researchers on how 'apostate' accounts are self-serving do not hold up to close investigation of these second-generation autobiographies.

Chapter 4: Why Did They Stay? Why Did They Leave When They Did?

Introduction

Although all second-generation members in the sample eventually left their respective sects, answering the question why they stayed as long as they did helps to contextualize their departures. In the literature, the question of 'why stay?' is surpassed by a focus on first-generation question of 'why join' initially, as outlined in Chapter 3 through the 'brainwashing' debates. Again, the second-generation avoids the 'free will' vs. 'brainwashing' debate, because they were either born into the sect, or brought into it as children.

Two ways exist to conceptualize the question 'why stay?' The first way is to examine issues of resources. As children, the second-generation would have limited resources available to them if they wanted to defect while they were still very young (in contrast to second-generation members who defect as adults). Few options are available for children leaving alternative religious groups. Options available for defection include defecting when a parent defects, defecting due to legal intervention (such as through custody battles or police raids), or legal emancipation. The second way to conceptualize the question 'why stay' is through an emotional lens of attachment to the alternative religious group.

This Chapter first addresses reasons why second-generation members have remained in their respective alternative religious groups. I first examine why members stay from a theoretical standpoint, through the lens of available resources for defection, and through the emotional lens of positive reasons for remaining group members. I then use the autobiographies to answer the question, 'why did they stay as long as they did?' The second part of this Chapter uses the autobiographies to identify factors relating to second-generation defection.

Why Stay?

Children are unlikely to leave simply because they are young dependents, but while parents too may have become dependents (if they surrendered everything upon joining) parents still manage to defect. A difference, however, between the two is that children are at a developmental stage in which they cannot process abstract thought. Therefore, the necessary long-term thought process of defection is most likely absent. Even as they age, leaving an alternative religious group is especially difficult for children born into and raised in a closed environment, because they have known nothing different. So, how is it that some children do leave alternative religious groups when they are still children?

Options appear to be few. They may defect when a parent defects; they may depart because of legal intervention (such as through custody battles or child welfare raids), or (in very rare cases) they may achieve legal emancipation. Within the sample, Guest, Hamilton-Byrne, and Kristina Jones departed while still children. Guest's father was not a member of the Rajneeshees, and shared custody with his mother, therefore making Guest's separation from the Rajneeshees the result of amicable shared custody (2004). In contrast, Hamilton-

Byrne's separation was the result of a police raid on her sect's compound (1995). Even though the police forcibly removed Hamilton-Byrne from her group, I still consider her departure a second-generation defection because following her departure, she did not re-affiliate with her sect. Kristina Jones left when her mother defected, and as a teen she also chose not to return to the Children of God/The Family (2007). Celeste Jones, Juliana Buhring, Hong, Tompkins, Masson, and Young all left their respective groups as young adults. Both types of defection (leaving as a child and leaving as a young adult) represent second-generation defections, albeit under very different circumstances. The next section outlines a more general overview of second-generation defection and its related issues.

Available Options for Childhood Defection: A General Discussion on Second-Generation Defection

This section provides an overview of the available options for childhood defection from alternative religious groups. Even though not all methods apply to the sample, it is important to provide context and implications for different avenues for childhood defection. For example, leaving an isolated group with (a) parent(s) also has the parent(s) dealing with issues of interacting within a new society. By giving new meanings to words, and even adding new vocabulary, loaded language forms a barrier to interacting with the non-cult world (Walsh, 2001:4). Both parent(s) and child(ren) face this issue. With parents, a consequence might involve difficulty in getting a job. Children might have difficulty socializing with peers at school. Defection, therefore, is not as simple as walking out on the sect.

Second-generation members may defect from their groups (somewhat involuntarily) through custody battles between a family member outside of the sect and the biological parent who is an active member of the sect. Sharing custody is difficult to navigate, since parents are likely to have opposing worldviews. Some parents take action into their own hands, as was the case of a Mrs. A discussed in Halperin (1989). Originally, both parents left the sect, but being unable to cope in such a drastically different environment, the father rejoined and the couple separated. Mr. A approached Mrs. A demanding the children, and then rushed into the house and kidnapped them. Mrs. A has not seen her children since. The kidnapping suggests that the parent remaining in the group sees himself or herself as responsible for 'saving' the soul of the child. The example highlights an issue that may arise through partial defection: when one parent remains in the sect and the other defects with the children. Second-generation defection, therefore, is sometimes difficult to pinpoint. For example, does the child share the religious beliefs of the non-affiliated parent or the affiliated parent?

Not all custody cases end so tragically. Halperin (1989: 79) also noted how, with full disclosure, some parents can share custody amicably, as with Dr. P and his ex-wife. Dr. P was concerned about his seventeen-year-old son attending educational seminars with his ex-wife, which a guru in India was conducting.

With a psychotherapist, Dr. P was able to acknowledge that his wife had always been a responsible parent, and was encouraged to discuss her travel plans together. His wife made a firm commitment to return with their son, which she did. In this situation, the resolution was amicable. This is an example of successful partial second-generation defection. Guest's autobiography (2004) is an example of parents sharing custody amicably, with his father a non-member and his mother (initially) a member of the Rajneeshees.

A second option for children leaving harmful groups occurs through custody battles. For example, in the case reviewed by Freckelton (1998), a grandmother accused The Children of God/The Family (to which her daughter and grandson belonged), of sexual improprieties and brainwashing. As the case progressed, concerns "expanded into issues of education, medical neglect, [and] isolation both from the outside world and from members of the natural family" (Freckelton, 1998: 15). In the end, the child was to remain with his mother, but under numerous restrictions on the mother's behavior – and on sect practices. Although in this example, the child remained in the sect, it demonstrates how it might be possible to use the courts to force second-generation defection.

Thus far, both options for leaving cults have focused on options outside of the child's control. The third option, however, sees the child using American emancipation laws to leave an alternative religious group. I will only briefly describe the use of emancipation laws and second-generation defection, since although it is relevant for a broad discussion of second-generation defection, emancipation laws had no bearing on my data. One likely reason is that in order to use such laws, a child must have prior knowledge of them, which is unlikely in the totalistic environment of some alternative religious groups. The other possibility is that an 'outsider,' like a social worker, exposes the child to the option of using emancipation laws. In either situation, the child would have to be mature enough not only to understand the laws at a cognitive level, but also for the laws to be applicable. That said, adolescents, not children, would be most eligible to use this option.

The common elements are "whether the minor is financially self-supporting, whether she is living at home, and the number of years she is from the majority" (Boyle, 1999: 8). Again, adolescents benefit most from these commonalities, since it would be unrealistic for a child to be self-supporting. Furthermore, gaining employment to sustain economic self-sufficiency is exceptionally difficult for emancipated cultic children for the following reasons:

> First, cult members' labor may not easily parlay into mainstream employment skills. Second, cultic children often suffer from deficient social skills necessary to maintain a job in society at large. Third, cult leaders are likely to oppose a cultic child's attempts to excel in school and/or gain outside employment. Fourth, cultic children [. . .] who provide their own labor for the cult often do not receive direct compensation and are not permitted control over their own finances. Finally, cultic children are often raised in group living situations, even if

> they are separated from their parents, which would make demonstrating a history of self-sufficiency less credible (Boyle, 1999: 13).

Therefore, eligibility for emancipation is exceedingly difficult for sect adolescents, which may explain why no authors in the sample used emancipation laws for their defections. Moreover, jurisdictional differences also impact how accessible these laws are. Additionally, emancipation laws may not exist in some countries where alternative religious groups have colonies. Ironically, emancipation laws may encourage adolescents to join sects, because a sect leader may encourage minors to emancipate themselves to prevent parental intervention to their joining an alternative religious group (Boyle, 1999: 26). Emancipation laws are difficult and complex. Perhaps this is why "there is no registry documenting cases of cultic children having used emancipation laws" (Boyle, 1999: 30).

It seems unlikely, therefore, that children simply would be able to leave on their own. Both custodial battles and parents exiting involve factors outside of the child's control, and emancipation laws appear unrealistic for children to use. Thus, the remaining option is outside intervention by authorities.

Logistical Reasons Inhibiting Defection

Second-generation defection as adults is also logistically complex. Defection requires 'integration' into 'outside' society, which demands resources. Logistical reasons for remaining in the alternative religious group include being geographically isolated, and therefore not exposed to agencies or people who could assist in a smooth transition to 'outside' society. Lack of money for 'starting over' also ties second-generation members to their respective sects. Similar to geographic isolation, a member's entire social network may be within the sect, and there may be no place to physically stay following defection. Even if a second-generation member wanted to defect, logistical obstacles may prevent him or her from doing so. Below I present categories that emerged from the autobiographies.

Geographic and Social Isolation

At times even if the children wanted to leave, their physical isolation prevented them from obtaining help. For example, Hamilton-Byrne grew up "almost in total social isolation, kilometers from anywhere and with minimal contact with other humans" (1995: 1). Mr. Upton sold his neighboring property to The Rajneeshees in England, while under the mistaken impression that he was selling his land to a progressive school (Guest: 2004: 114). The children were terrified that Mr. Upton would shoot them if they stepped over the creek or the boundary cord (Guest: 2004: 114). Geographic isolation, therefore, helped bind Hamilton-Byrne and Guest to their respective sects.

The Children of God/The Family socially isolated its second-generation members. Celeste Jones recalled during her and her sister's stay at World Services (administrative sect headquarters) in the Philippines:

> We were not allowed to tell anyone our phone number, address, or even the country we lived in. All personal correspondence had to be read by the

> leaders before being mailed, and all letters from the outside were opened before being handed to us. I was never told our address and the only phone in the house was in Paul and Marianne's [the house leaders] room (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 57).

Even if Celeste were to have wanted to leave, her social isolation would have made defection nearly impossible. Geographic and social isolation in some sects, therefore, hinders second-generation defection.

Lack of Monetary Resources

Even if second-generation members are thinking-through defection scenarios, it is inevitable they will face the question of how they will support themselves independently of the sect. For second-generation members who have dedicated their lives to the group, monetary obstacles are often impossible to overcome. For example, saving up enough money (and being able to hide it) for a home and living expenses hindered Hong from leaving the Unification Church earlier (1998: 8).

Lack of Outside Support

Even if a second-generation member is not geographically isolated, and has accumulated enough money for a 'start up' fund, he or she may have no outside support system to assist in the transition to 'outside society.' After one incident of being beaten by her husband, Hyo Jin (who had been on a cocaine high), Hong was "more certain than ever that [she] had nowhere to run" (1998:

178). Celeste Jones also experienced feelings of being trapped in the sect environment. She wrote:

> Unlike our parents who had burned their bridges and left their former lives, [the second-generation] were never given a choice over the paths our lives would follow. Isolated from society, we were controlled by fear — fear of the government, police, doctors and social workers, and the even greater fear of God's wrath if we ever left the protection of the Family (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: vii).

Celeste Jones underlies the difficulties for second-generation members to trust outside support. A crucial set of issues, therefore, that keeps some second-generation in alternative religious groups involve logistics — saving money, knowing who to trust on the outside, knowing where to go after leaving, and having sufficient skills to sustain themselves.

Psychological Reasons Inhibiting Defection

The second way of conceptualizing the question 'why stay' focuses on psychological and emotional attachments to an alternative religious group. For example, one possibility is that family ties bind the second-generation to the sect: leaving involves abandoning one's biological family as well as community. For example, Tompkins (1997) did not write about why he chose to remain affiliated with his father's New Age movement as long as he did, but since Tompkins was the only child, and the group was based out of his home, I suggest that Tompkins stayed in the sect until adulthood simply because membership was a by-product of living at home with his parents.

Some of the reasons for remaining in a sect are positive, such as happy experiences one had within it, or continuing faith in the sect's belief system. Negative psychological sanctions as well discourage second-generation defection. Within my sample, these include negative sanctions often involving self-blame and guilt or fear of supernatural retribution for defection. The psychological and emotional reasons for remaining in a sect are significant motivators for people to remain as long as they do.

Positive Experiences within the Alternative Religious Group

Emotional reasons for staying, such as attachment to family and friends, cannot be overestimated. Commitment to one's sect — which essentially serves as a replacement family — reinforces retention. For example, leaving the Moon compound meant leaving behind Hong's one friend, Moon's daughter, Un Jin (1998: 99). For some second-generation members, such as Sarah Hamilton-Byrne, the sect is the only reality that they know; as such, it is more appealing than any 'unknown' realm. Moreover, not all of her experiences within the sect were negative, and positive experiences reinforced reasons for remaining affiliated.

For example, Hamilton-Byrne recalled fond memories of watching cricket on television with her siblings (1995: 36).[26]

Tim Guest similarly recalled fond memories of exploring the Rajneeshee commune in Pune, India on his own. Guest (2004) recounted childhood exploits included teasing the monkeys, going into town for mango pulp and buffalo milk, and playing hide-and-go-seek with the other sect children while religious commitments occupied their parents. Guest even intermittently received small toys from his mother and other adults (2004: 54).

Guest's unrestricted childhood also extended to the sect's commune in England. The children put on internal shows of the popular movie *Grease* (Guest, 2004: 90), worshipped the *E.T.* movie (2004: 105), and enjoyed summertime pastimes of three-legged races (2004: 111) and swimming along the weir (2004: 117-118). One of Guest's favorite games to play was NATLASU [not allowed to let anyone see us] (2004: 120). Similar to most children, Guest greatly enjoyed the opportunities he had to ride the bus on the rubbish run, urging the bus driver to speed up (2004: 114). Guest's childhood almost sounds idealized, until one reads his reasons for defection.

Life within the Unification Church for Hong also was quite comfortable at times. As a member of the inner circle, Hong's lifestyle included a mansion, chauffeurs, a pool, a private bowling alley, private schools, horseback riding lessons, Japanese tutors, and vacations (1998: 7). It is important to keep in mind, therefore, especially for balance with the following section on defection, that not all experiences within a sect are negative. The positive memories are part of what makes remaining in a sect so appealing, especially after second-generation members begin to experience doubts.

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[26] Anne, the sect leader, later banned cricket for twelve months, declaring it "vulgar" (Hamilton-Byrne: 1995: 37).

Continuing Faith

Even if doubts about leadership exist, or miserable living conditions sow the seeds of defection, commitment to the overarching principles of a sect keeps many second-generation members affiliated. Hong, for example, found Reverend Moon's sermons touching (1998: 99). If only she worked and prayed hard enough, Hong thought, God would genuinely change her negative experiences within the Unification Church (1998: 163). For many, leaving the group constitutes a spiritual suicide.

Masson explained why he remained loyal to his parent's guru, P.B. for as long as he did. He stated:

> I felt I was unbelievably fortunate to be in the presence of this great man and that all the trusted adults in my life were in agreement about this invisible world of power and meaning with which P.B. in particular was on such intimate terms. How could they all be wrong? Perhaps if I had spoken about it more openly to my teachers, friends, or relatives, I would have been given another perspective. But to do so would have been disloyal, a sign of weakness. How could I doubt the word of God? (Masson, 1993: 62).

Both Masson and Hong reflect the initial purity of commitment to their respective sect's religious principles, and the reluctance to abandon their childhood faith.

Misattribution of Negative Experiences

The second-generation may also misattribute negative experiences within a sect, in order to maintain the internal belief that belonging to it is a positive, rewarding experience. For example, after her 'going through' (formal initiation into the sect), Sarah Hamilton-Byrne recommitted herself to Anne, blaming the Aunties (adults in charge of the children) for her abuses (1995: 151). Regardless of how she suffered, "[Anne's] approval and love and attention meant the world to [her]" (Hamilton-Byrne: 1995: 151). She further confessed, "sometimes believing in a lie is easier than facing the truth" (Hamilton-Byrne: 1995: 152). As leadership permitted the children increased exposure to the outside world, beatings also decreased and eventually stopped — attributed to Anne's kindness instead of a tactical move on Anne's behalf to not leave any obvious signs of abuse (Hamilton-Byrne: 1995: 152). Again, for a member to admit that a sect is at fault, even for an isolated occurrence, would involve beginning to question the only social reality that he or she knows. Staying in a group, therefore, is the more attractive option, reinforced through misattributing negative experiences away from leadership and often onto oneself.

Guilt/Fear of Supernatural Retribution

Lastly, second-generation members in the sample remained in their respective sects due to guilt or fear of supernatural retribution. Hong feared that leaving the Unification Church would bring about God's vengeance, evidenced by an aborted pregnancy due to the fetus having no brain (1998: 175). If the alternative religious sect explicitly taught that supernatural retribution would fall on 'apostates,' I then considered this a form of spiritual abuse, and I discuss these instances in greater detail under the 'Why Leave- Spiritual Abuse' section of this Chapter. Fear and guilt, therefore, are great motivators for remaining in an abusive group.

If a child defects with a parent but the child remains loyal to the sect, then the child's defection is compounded with his or her perception that the parent has made a 'wrong' choice, resulting in emotions such as guilt, regret, remorse, and even anger. Thought-reform techniques used within the group can make members' responses to defectors especially harsh. Cushman (1986, as cited by Walsh, 2001: 3) stated, "those members who disagree with the doctrinaire beliefs or leave the group are either attacked or abandoned." Experiencing such reactions by former friends can be difficult for a child to process.

Using The Children of God/The Family as an example, leaving the group often involved a sense of guilt, which the group fostered through Biblical passages. Walsh (2001: 5) reported that The Family used the phrase '10:36ers'[27] to refer to "a parent of a member who is actively seeking to remove [his or her] child from the group and is perceived as an enemy of the group." The Biblical passage refers to enemies originating from within one's own group. Assuming a sect socializes the children in its ideology, they would know exactly what their former social group would think of their parents, and subsequently themselves, for defecting. Similarly, for Hong, leaving the Unification Church would render her and her family "spiritual outcasts" as well as put them in "physical danger" (1998: 7). Even though the focus of the effects of leaving the sect is on the parent(s), by extension the children are exposed to similar consequences.

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[27] The exact Biblical reference, however, is unclear, although the group likely is referring to Mathew 10:36 [" a man's enemies will be the members of his own household"] < http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Mathew%2010:36;&version=31>.

Leaving the Children of God/The Family as an adult second-generation member, for example, is no easier than defecting during childhood, because the sect teaches members from an early age that defection is despicable. An anonymous member who had left the Children of God/The Family reflected:

> 'A lot of things go through your mind. You hear stories about people who leave, how miserable they are because they are not serving God. I remember they used to use that scripture that said, "A dog returns to his vomit." Have you ever heard that? That's how they would describe someone who left' (qtd. in Wright, 1991: 135).

For the second-generation, some defectors appear to remain because their negative socialization is so great.

Summary of 'Why Stay'

My data suggests that 'why so many second-generation members stay as long as they do?' may be a combination of factors. They include logistics, family ties, spiritual ties, misattributed negative experiences, intermittent reinforcement of positive experiences, and guilt. The sectarian socialization of the young, therefore, cannot be overestimated. Celeste Jones noted, "from birth [the second-generation children] were conditioned to obey and follow the way of the cult [. . .] and [we] knew no other way" (1997: viii). Similarly, Hong explained:

> You are isolated among likeminded people. You are bombarded with messages elevating obedience above critical thinking. Your belief system is reinforced at every turn. You become invested in those beliefs the longer you are associated with the church. After ten years, after twenty years, who would want to admit, even to herself, that her beliefs were built on sand? (1998: 149).

Staying in one's sect, therefore, is often the option that is 'easiest' in the sense that a young member does not have to confront the thought that the reality in which he or she has grown up is false.

Themes Contributing to Second-Generation Defection

The second-generation authors generally do not specify directly their reasons for defection. I gleaned factors, therefore, leading to disaffiliation from the autobiographies. I determined what constituted a factor leading to disaffiliation by asking the question 'is this factor a harmful byproduct of retaining membership in the alternative religious group?'

Initial coding of autobiographies revealed two broad categories contributing to second-generation defection: institutional abuse and abuses of personhood. I define institutional abuse as violations against people in accordance with organizational goals. Abuses of personhood, in contrast, constitute violations against people outside of organizational goals. Since defection is a complex process, institutional abuse and personal abuses are not separate factors in defection, but operate in tandem. Many factors contribute to second-generation defection; rarely if ever is it a lone factor, although an author may speak of a key incident. This section provides an overview of common themes emerging from the autobiographical second-generation defection literature that I analyzed.

Abuses of Personhood

Physical Abuse

Physical abuse occurred most prominently in the sample, and appears to have been a key factor in defection. The sample generated five sub-categories: beatings, food deprivation, drug taking, living conditions, and miscellaneous/other. My results suggest that as children age, cognitive maturation results in realizing the 'wrongness' of physical abuse and the need to end it for themselves and other children within one's alternative religious group.

Beatings

The Great White Brotherhood/The Family frequently beat the children as disciplinary action, as well as to reinforce power relations. Offences that resulted in beatings include bed-wetting (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 21),[28] wearing old socks

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[28] The Aunties (like nannies to the children) or Anne (the sect's leader) belted bed-wetters, or shoved them into cold showers while the perpetrators were still in their pajamas. Punishment also

(Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 47),[29] or putting up posters of Elvis Presley and Nick Kershaw [an English pop star][30] (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 47). Beatings were frequent and constant. Hamilton-Byrnes estimated from 1976 to 1980, the children "regularly suffered horrible beltings and missed one or two meals almost every day" (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 46). One of the popular adults' sayings was "you can't murder a bum, but you can always try" (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 39). The Aunties, Bill, or Anne beat the children with sticks, meter sticks, bits of wood with nails and knobs, bamboo sticks, shoes, whips, a black three-cornered cane, high-heeled shoes, and broomsticks (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 48-52). Hamilton-Byrne's brother Stephen endured the following beating:

> In about 1980, during a beating, Uncle Leon had thrown Stephen against a concrete recess with such force that he cracked his head. He was unconscious for many hours. A few days later he was taken down to Box Hill Hospital and X-rayed. A hairline fracture of the skull was discovered, which was to be the cause of his fits. Before the beating, he was already congenitally blind and autistic. He did not need another handicap (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 44).

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included withholding breakfast and lunch (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 21). If children could not wait until recess, then they wet their pants and received a belting. On one occasion, an Auntie beat baby Madeleine for dirtying her diaper; the Auntie locked her in a crib, which physically prevented her from making it to the toilet (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 47).

[29] Anne denied Megan Dawes, a sibling to the author, meals for a day (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 47).

[30] Anne's husband, Bill, accused the children of having perverted sexual motives, and used the posters as evidence. Bill beat the offending children with stiletto heels (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 155).

Beatings were a severe part of daily life, and were so severe at times the child victim could not walk for days afterwards (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 49).

For Sarah Hamilton-Byrne, the torture of her youngest sister, Cassandra, "is one of the main reasons why [she] eventually talked to the police when [she] left Uptop [one of the group's compounds]" (1995: 80). Because Cassandra had a round face, Anne accused her of being fat, and put her on extreme weight restriction until her weight dropped to under 20 kilograms (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 75-80).[31] Cassandra's malnourishment led to frequent blackouts, from which the Aunties could not arouse her, even when they pricked her with a pin (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 75-80). Part of the solution to Cassandra's 'weight problem' was to inject her daily with homeopathic mixtures of animal organs to "treat joint pain [. . .] and to counteract hypersexuality in children" (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 79). This extreme physical abuse of her sister Cassandra was key to Sarah Hamilton-Byrne's defection (in terms of confessing to a friend who assisted her in getting help), and eventual dissolution of the sect.

Similarly, the Jones sisters (2007) recounted their physical abuse by adult members of the Children of God/The Family. Paul, who was a leader in Celeste's complex, beat her hands for not following orders to keep her eyes closed while standing for extended periods of time (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 49-50). Celeste even mimicked the physical abuse perpetrated by authority figures. On one occasion, Celeste decided to pull a prank on her sister Juliana, threatening to spank her. Juliana went into hysterics (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 62). For Celeste, it was a turning point, reflecting:

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[31] At this time, Cassandra was 120 centimeters tall. Weighing less than twenty kilograms for this height indicates severe malnourishment (Hamilton-Byrne, 2007: 79).

> that even children had a right to dignity and respect [and she] saw how depraved and abusive the treatment the leaders meted out to [the children] was. Hitting did nothing but damage a child's fragile trust in those they looked to for love and care. I hated when I was hit across the face, knuckled on the head, or spanked, and I vowed that I would never forget (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 62).

Juliana's reaction is not surprising, considering she "got daily spankings for trivial offences such as forgetting an instruction or arguing with [her] peers" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 128). Like Hamilton-Byrne, a leader (Uncle Dan), paddled Juliana repeatedly from age three onwards for wetting the bed (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 115-116). Leadership also subjected Juliana to the White Stick,[32] silence restrictions, having her mouth washed out with soap, and public spankings (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 141-142).

Hong also suffered beatings while she was a member of the Unification Church, although her husband, Hyo Jin, beat her, which could arguably constitute spousal abuse. What made her situation different from general spousal abuse scenarios, however, was that her husband was a child of the True Parents, and therefore was supposed to be a flawless representative of the divine (Hong, 1998:

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[32] Juliana described the White Stick as "a metre long and an inch wide, it looked harmless enough, but the whiplash on your bare bottom created painful welts. After a beating you would be unable to sit comfortably for a week" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 141).

5). Hyo Jin repeatedly threatened to kill her and the children, which was a threat not to be taken lightly due to his cocaine addiction and gun ownership (Hong, 1998: 6-7). Hyo Jin threatened to break her fingers (Hong, 1998: 11), and on one occasion began beating her so severely (during one of her pregnancies) that she locked herself in her room, afraid for her life (Hong, 1998: 156-158). Similarly, Young, a second-generation member of the early Mormon Church, recalled her husband, Brigham Young, strangling her for overtly disagreeing with him (Young, 1876: 407-408). Almost like what happened to Hong, her spouse, Brigham Young, beat Young unconscious eight months into her pregnancy (Young, 1876: 402). Hong also saw the Reverend Sun Myung Moon slap his children to silence them (Hong, 1998: 102). For Hong and Young, the hypocrisy of abusive leaders preaching godliness hastened their defections.

Food Deprivation

This abusive behavior appears in the alternative religious groups the Great White Brotherhood/The Family, Children of God/The Family,[33] Masson's childhood under his family's guru, P.B., and within the early Mormon Church. The Great White Brotherhood/The Family prohibited the children from getting fat, so Anne ordered a locked gate installed to block entry to the kitchen, and for the Aunties to sleep nearby (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 13-14, 66). Although the Aunties regularly weighed the children, there was no concern when they were underweight (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 22). Under the instruction of Anne, the Aunties punished the children for showing signs of malnutrition. A protruding belly resulted in Anne restricting food rations even further (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 22). Additionally, the Aunties treated vomiting as an inquest, poking through it to ensure that the child had not snuck any food (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 65-66).

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[33] Juliana Buhring remembered, "[an eight-year-old African-American boy] had expressed a desire to leave the Family, and so was imprisoned in a tiny room with an adult guarding him at all times. He was too dangerous to even mix with the other detainees. They fed him only liquids and read him MO Letters all hours of the day and night for nearly a year" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 145).

Part of the tragedy within the Great White Brotherhood/The Family was the food available was abysmal. Hamilton-Byrne recalled mouse droppings in the muesli (1995: 66) and on one occasion, cat urine in the porridge (1995: 67). It is not surprising, then, that the children "were so hungry [they] ate dirt and leaves," while the littlest ones "frequently ate the food put out for the animals" (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 82). Indirectly, food deprivation was one reason Sarah Hamilton-Byrne left The Great White Brotherhood/The Family, since it led to her short-lived rebellion of breaking and entering into lakeside homes to steal food (1995: 131-134).[34]

During sect-instituted three-day fasts within the Children of God/The Family, "no solid food, sex, or alcohol was allowed" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 47).[35] Children under twelve lived off minimal food, such as liquid soup

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[34] The police eventually apprehended Hamilton-Byrne, which began a police investigation into the alternative religious group. Hamilton-Byrne cooperated with the investigation, and in this sense, these factors contributed to her defection. She claimed that the abuse lead to her defection, as instead she could have lied to investigating officers.

[35] Masson's parents fasted anywhere from two-weeks to forty days, yet Masson and his sister never fasted, with the exception of one three-day fast (Masson, 1993: 33-34). Although fasting never harmed Masson, during one fast his father dropped to 92 pounds, yet did not seem concerned (Masson, 1993: 36).

(Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 61). Interestingly, although food deprivation initially contributed to more docile second-generation members, food deprivation (combined with other physical abuse situations) also contributed to second-generation dissatisfaction and subsequent defection.

Food restriction featured in Jeffrey Masson's childhood under the guidance of his parents' guru, P.B. According to Masson, "P.B. was fascinated with crank diets of all kinds," yet "these enthusiasms rarely lasted very long, sometimes just a matter of days" (1993: 29-30). Masson, however, recalled one occasion at age five, where his parents put him on forced bread restriction (1993: 29). They found him competing with the pigeons for crumbs (Masson, 1993: 29). Like Masson, Young recalled living below poverty level, even though the Church of the Latter Day Saints had internal wealth. She wrote:

> Our principle food, the first winter, was dried buffalo-meat, very poor beef, and the coarse bread of which I have spoken, made from the unbolted wheat. Occasionally, as a very great luxury, we had dried fruit and a cup of tea; but this was only on state occasions, and at very long intervals (Young, 1876: 128).

All of these examples suggest that food deprivation served as a factor in second-generation defection. Because of it, children begin to question the wisdom of authority, therefore contributing to doubts about leadership.

Drugs

Legal and/or illegal drug use was a part of childhood for members of the Great White Brotherhood/The Family, and in some circumstances, for Tompkins.[36] The Aunties frequently gave the children in the Great White Brotherhood/The Family tranquilizers to calm them down (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 20). The daily routine consisted of "twenty-eight yeast tablets, twelve kelp, two vitamin C, two white, and one oily vitamin E, one desiccated liver tablet, and half a B-forte tablet," two or three times per day (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 72). Without any medical background, I only can speculate that this regime kept the children alive, considering their extensive physical abuse and food deprivation. In addition to vitamins, the Aunties also distributed "major tranquillizers such as Anatensol[37] and Serepax[38]" as well as daily dosages of Valium[39] and Mogadon[40] to "clear [their] souls and take [them] to a higher plane of understanding" (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 71). During the author's 'going through' initiation at age fourteen, the 'supervising' adults administered doses of LSD,[41] and possibly nitric acid,[42] whose effects were intensified by chronic sleep deprivation (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 141-143). On the home property, 'softer' drugs were part of the surrounding land; part of the morning chores of the author and her sister, Andrea, was collecting psilocybin mushrooms (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 149). Although the author does not directly state that she defected because her caretakers consistently drugged her, her detailed account of steady drug abuse by her authority figures suggests it was a contributing factor for her wanting to leave the sect.

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[36] Living an alternative lifestyle in which his father's main ambition was pursuing Atlantis, Tompkins grew up amidst lax boundaries. By age twelve, he routinely smoked marijuana (Tompkins, 1997: 143). I did not classify, however, Tompkins's experiences as drug abuse, because his father's group did not directly encourage him, nor were they likely aware of his habitual use.

[37] Anatensol is is a highly potent antipsychotic agent with activity at all levels of the central nervous system as well as on multiple organ systems. It acts on the hypothalamus, depressing various components of the mesodiencephalic activating system which is involved in the control of basal metabolism and body temperature, wakefulness, vasomotor tone, emesis, and hormonal balance <http://www.medsafe.govt.nz/Profs/Datasheet/a/anatensoltab.htm>.

[38] Serepax is used to treat anxiety, but the safety of its use for children under sixteen is not recommended. Drowsiness is the most common side effect <http://www.appgonline.com.au/drug.asp?drug_id=00071315&t=cmi#7>.

[39] Like Serepax, valium is also used to treat anxiety and is considered a highly addictive drug <http://www.drugs.com/valium.html>.

[40] Mogadon is a sleep-aid medication that is also used to treat mild seizures, which works by slowing down the central nervous system <http://bodyandhealth.canada.com/drug_info_details.asp?brand_name_id=339>.

Living Conditions

I chose to categorize living conditions within physical abuse because poor living conditions negatively affect child health outcomes. At Uptop (one of the locations of the Great White Brotherhood/The Family), all light bulbs were less than twenty watts, curtains were heavy, and electricity was not installed until the 1980s due to Anne's intense dislike of light (Hamilton-Byrne: 17-18). The Aunties also confined the children indoors for long periods of time ("it could go on for many months"), outside of Hatha yoga in the mornings (Hamilton-Byrnes, 1995: 24). In contrast, the Hamilton-Byrne compound, (Broom Farm) in England was a large mansion that was expensively decorated (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995:

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[41] LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide) is one of the major drugs making up the hallucinogen class of drugs. Hallucinogens cause hallucinations — profound distortions in a person's perception of reality. Hallucinogens are involved in the control of behavioral, perceptual, and regulatory systems, including mood, hunger, body temperature, sexual behavior, muscle control, and sensory perception. Under the influence of hallucinogens, people see images, hear sounds, and feel sensations that seem real but do not exist. Some hallucinogens also produce rapid, intense emotional swings <http://www.nida.nih.gov/infofacts/LSD.html>.

[42] Nitric acid ingestion can cause abdominal pain, difficulty swallowing, nausea, salivation, vomiting, diarrhea and may be fatal <http://www.hpa.org.uk/web/HPAwebFile/HPAweb_C/1194947355794>.

107). The Moon compound also provided lavish living conditions for Hong, but those conditions involved increased security measures (Hong, 1998: 7).[43]

Poor living conditions were not unique to the Great White Brotherhood/The Family. Leadership neglected children's safety at the Rajneeshpuram Ranch. The Share-A-Home program bussed in homeless from all over America, including alcoholics, war veterans suffering from mental illnesses, and drug addicts (Guest, 2004: 207). In the early Mormon Church, when Young's clothing wore out, "as there was no cloth [at the settlement], and no wool to make [clothing] from, the men wore clothes made of deer and antelope skins" (Young, 1876: 129). Overall, however, physical living conditions, were not clear factors in defections. While it remains unclear what role the type of physical living conditions play, one commonality among the autobiographies was the view that the living conditions were prison-like.

Additional Physical Abuse

Physical abuse was severe and commonplace within the Great White Brotherhood/The Family, and at times extended beyond beatings. One punishment, 'ducking,' involved a caretaker repeatedly dunking a child's head into buckets of water until the perpetrator confessed (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 44, 53). One boy, David K., had his hand held by a caretaker over a burning fire, as punishment for throwing a green plastic frog into the same fire (Hamilton-Byrne,

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[43] Prior to marrying into the True Family, however, Hong and her parents (ardent followers) lived in the slums of Seoul. The Unification Church either paid poorly or did not compensate Hong's parents for their work for the Unification Church (Hong, 1998: 37, 40, 48-50).

1995: 59). Children not only had their mouths washed out with soap, but also the Aunties forced them to eat the soap-bars (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 59). Another form of punishment included writing lines — five thousand on one occasion — during rare free time, and threatening to withhold food until completion (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 62). Additionally horrifying, Anne had the children placed under anesthesia by her physiotherapist/follower, Dr. Gorman, and then contorted them into positions that would not have been possible for conscious children (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 73-75). Hamilton-Byrne recalled rumors of a child dying under such extreme spinal manipulation (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 75). Clearly, the Great White Brotherhood/The Family's abuse of their second-generation members was multi-dimensional and severe.

The Children of God/The Family also relied on alternate methods of physical abuse to keep their second-generation members submissive. "To suppress any un-revealed pride inside [Juliana Buhring], once in awhile [she] found [herself] sitting in a bathtub full of doo-doo nappies" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 146). The sect cannot blame the physical abuse inside the sect on a few 'bad apples' because adults who were present did not intervene. Kristina Jones confirmed, "adults were not supposed to interfere with each other's correction of the children" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 191). The Children of God/The Family, therefore, encouraged adults to ignore physical abuse of children within the sect.

I also consider medical abuse to be a form of physical abuse. Examples of this type are rarer in the second-generation literature. In the Great White Brotherhood/The Family, Anne accused the children of making up legitimate illnesses such as allergies, claiming they are 'all in the mind' or 'attention seeking behaviors' and therefore punishable offences (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 72). When Kristina Jones caught the flu, she "was told the sickness was because of some spiritual sin of [her] own" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 197). Juliana Jones and her siblings, Marianna and Vera, never visited a doctor nor were immunized, even when they had the measles or the mumps (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 120). Sickness indicated, "you were either out of God's Will or had a spiritual malaise that manifested itself in the physical disease" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 119). In contrast, when sect leaders David Berg or Maria became sick, "it was the fault of the Family members for not praying hard enough" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 197). Medical neglect, therefore, contributes to injustices against second-generation members, leading to dissatisfaction and defection.

Leadership actively discouraged Mormons from seeking medical care within the early Mormon Church. According to Young, "for many years the Mormons rejected the aid of physicians altogether. They applied oil, and "'laid hands' on all sick persons, without regard to their ailments" (Young, 1876: 124).[44] At sixteen, Young was "administered to" by the laying of hands, as "it was considered the surest sign of a weakening of faith to resort to medical aid, and no

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[44] On one occasion, one of Brigham's grandchildren had ingested rat poison. He sent the doctor away in favor of treatment through laying of hands, resulting in the child's death (Young, 1876: 350).

Mormon in good standing would ever entertain the suggestion for a moment" (Young, 1876: 350). Brigham Young, her husband, resented her illness "as a personal wrong done to himself" (Young, 1876: 475). Hypocritically, Brigham himself summoned doctors when he was ill, while he denounced doctors in the Tabernacle and "declare[d] that they should never enter heaven, but that he would himself close the doors against them" (Young, 1876: 350-351). Intentional medical neglect is another recurring factor in second-generation defection memoirs.

Sexual Abuse

Sexual abuse was a common factor within the data. Since defining sexual abuse can be controversial, I conceptualized sexual abuse in the following three ways: sexual contact with a minor, child sexualization, and/or preoccupation with sexual behavior. The autobiographies accused the following groups of sexually abusing children: The Children of God/The Family, The Great White Brotherhood/The Family, the Rajneeshees, and Masson's guru P.B. In addition, Reverend Moon married Hong to one of his sons when she was fifteen, and encouraged her pregnancies while she was still an adolescent (Hong, 1998: 31). Young was not directly victimized, but noted there was some child sexualization within the early Mormon Church.[45] All examples negatively affect healthy development of adult sexuality. As a recurring theme in the autobiographies, sexual abuse is a major factor in second-generation defection.

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[45] Young reported that Joseph Smith's "love for his adopted [seven-year-old] daughter was by no means a paternal affection, and his wife, discovering the fact, at once took measure to place the girl beyond his reach" (Young, 1876: 66). Increasing the credibility of the alleged sexual abuse beyond gossip is the fact that Young's mother apparently took in the girl (Young, 1876: 67).

Caretakers sexually abused children in some alternative religious groups, although to varying degrees. Sexual abuse in the Children of God/The Family was widespread because leader Berg (a.k.a. Mo or Grandpa) made it doctrinally sanctioned.[46] According to C. Jones, "MO Letters and Family publications reinforced the idea that children should be allowed to enjoy sexual contact among themselves as well as with adults – and many adults in the Family embraced and carried out these suggestions" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: xiv). C. Jones explained:

> The belief that damaged us the most was Berg's 'Law of Love.' God was love, and love equaled sex. Sharing your body with someone else was considered the highest expression of love. Age was not a barrier in Berg's Law of Love and Family children were made to participate in his warped, pedophilic philosophy. His own children and grandchildren suffered from his incestuous predilections (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: ix).

Berg's teachings essentially institutionalized pedophilia.

Berg's 1979 letter, "My Childhood Sex," revealed his "nanny had performed oral sex on him as a young toddler," which Berg justified as "normal, natural and healthy and there was nothing wrong with it" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: xiv). In effect, this letter gave members "carte blanche to follow suit" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: xiv). Paul, a leader in Christina's home, gathered all the girls together (some as young as three) to read the MO Letters "Glorify God in the Dance" and "Nudes Can Be Beautiful," encouraging them to dance naked for Berg on video (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 28). The MO Letter, "Come Union," resulted in an adult member selecting Celeste, then age seven, as a sexual partner (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 45-46). After drinking wine and kissing, Celeste recalled, "for a seven-year-old this was as yuck as yuck gets [. . .] " (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 45-46). Following the death of Berg, his partner Maria assumed the leader role. She encouraged the sexual exploitation of second and even third generation members, encouraging a 'marriage of the generations' (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 310, 317).

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[46] Sadly, when Juliana Jones defected and confronted her father (who remained in the sect) regarding the abuse she suffered in the Children of God/The Family, he argued, "the practice wasn't wrong. It was the System [outside society] who made it wrong" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 404).

Sexual grooming was normative,[47] with "the only positive attention" being bestowed for acting flirtatiously or sexy (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 30-31). The children were "rewarded for being 'yielded' and showing God's love," but punished for refusing, which leadership blamed on the Devil's influence (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 31, 66).These sexualized doctrines inevitably affected the childhoods of Celeste, Juliana, and Kristina.

Adult members repeatedly abused Celeste Jones, and encouraged early childhood sexualization. Celeste performed strip tease dances on videotape for

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[47] For example, in Japan, Ricky's (the teen shepherd) birthday present was for the teen girls to take their tops off while he went up and down the line feeling them up (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 99).

Berg (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 29), and was encouraged to masturbate (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 30).[48] Celeste referred to herself as "highly sexualized and extrovert[ed]" by the time she was five or six (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 30). She also engaged in direct sexual contact with adults. Celeste's dad's friend, Solomon, masturbated to her naked dancing (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 30). "Peruvian Manuel" mimicked intercourse with her to achieve orgasm (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 31-32).[49] Eman Artist forced her to perform felatio (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 67).[50] Even her teacher, Jonny Appleseed, had her engage in mutual masturbation (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 33), as did adult member Paul Peloquin (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 65) and musician Jeremy Spencer (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 66).

Her sister, Kristina, similarly recalled it being "impossible" not to be very aware of sex from an early age (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 159). From the age of three, Kristina's stepfather, Joshua, taught her "sex and nudity were natural," systematically sexually abusing her, including kissing, fondling, oral sex, pornographic picture sessions, and sex by age four (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 167, 171). Another adult male in the group forced Kristina to perform oral sex (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 171), again supporting the notion that the group itself encouraged sexual contact with minors. Similar to Celeste, various so-called ‘uncles’ in the group sexually abused Kristina. Uriah, who was an adult male member, had her masturbate him and give him oral sex (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 180); she also recalled being jiggled on various uncles’ erections during devotional services (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 181). One uncle, Peter, repeatedly raped her at age ten on a group road trip (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 192-194).

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[48] Adults carefully told the children "to never, never [masturbate] in front of strangers, or discuss it where [the Systemites — outsiders to the sect] would hear" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 30).
[49] During the timeframe wherein Peruvian Manuel assaulted Celeste, the Children of God/The Family actively 'discouraged' sexual contact between adults and children (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 84-85). Similarly, Celeste was requested to perform another strip dance for Mo, as an "exception" to the new rules that the adults were not permitted anymore to film underage girls dancing nude (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 91).
[50] The Children of God/The Family eventually excommunicated Eman Artist. Celeste Jones remains critical of how long it took leadership to excommunicate him, considering that young girls had reported his behavior for years (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 110).

Their sister, Juliana, also suffered sexual abuse within the Children of God/The Family. For a time, Juliana (age fifteen) worked as a nanny. Miguel, the son of the family for which she was working, raped her, as did Marcus, the Family representative in the home. Marcus blackmailed Juliana not to talk about his rape, and he threatened to expose her rape by Miguel, which Family rules strictly forbade (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 306-307).[51]

Adults whom the girls trusted also subsequently abused them. Celeste’s father had a ‘date’ with her best friend Armi (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 67), and her substitute parent, Michael, viewed dates with him as a reward (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 68). Kristina found it “sick” and “painful” to have sex “with older teens and grown men” (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 194).

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[51] Marcus blackmailed Juliana by forcing her to have sex with him every night thereafter. Sex with outsiders (in this situation, her initial rape by Miguel) was an excommunicable offence within the Children of God/The Family (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 306-307).

Sexual contact was widespread among children. Leadership arranged 'date schedules' between children as well, pairing Celeste and her friend Armi to twelve and nine-year-olds, Patrick and Nicki, once a week (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 65). Juliana recalled being "coupled with the youngest boy, who was only three" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 128). At Jumbo, which was a child-rearing 'camp' in the Philippines, leadership forbade the children from wearing pajamas (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 135). "So many naked children lying close together did nothing to discourage sexual experimentation, nor indeed, was it meant to. There was an allotted time before bed for making love" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 135). Clearly, the Children of God/The Family sexually socialized the Jones sisters.

Interestingly, although the sect taught sexual contact was normative, the girls still felt violated:

> 'It was the same feeling as when you are in a nightmare: you want to scream or say something and nothing comes out. I had so many thoughts, questions and feelings but was unable to express them. Even when adults asked me directly what I was thinking; I always froze, my tongue rooted to the top of my mouth' (C. Jones, qtd. in Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 32).

Celeste further elaborated:

> 'I had been taught that black was white until my normality was upside down and backwards – but there was some kind of inner spark of morality

> deep-seated in me that told me what was really right and what was wrong. Sex with men old enough to be my father – with anyone I didn't choose – was wrong. Their touches were uncomfortable and awkward. It was an assault on my body that I had to grin and bear; I was powerless to stop it. I was trapped' (C. Jones, qtd in Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 65).

Remarkably, neither the Children of God/The Family as an entity nor any of its adult members ever have been successfully criminally prosecuted for sex crimes against children.[52]

Tim Guest's exposure to child sexual abuse was more indirect. Similar to the Children of God/The Family, sexuality was a part of communal life. As a child, Guest had witnessed adults having sex (2004: 85, 132).[53] Sexuality even made its way into children's songs, making up lyrics such as "but you'll look sweet, under a sheet, with me on top of you" (Guest, 2004: 85). Guest admitted that likely due to his young age, he escaped much of the sexual pressure at Medina [one of the group's communes] (2004: 132). Guest recalled:

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[52] Interestingly, the sect required Celeste to draft an affidavit denying the sect had abused her. "What was important about [Celeste's] affidavit is not what [she] said – that [she] had a fun, happy childhood, and that [she] had never been abused – but what [she] did not say. [She] never stated specifically that no adult men ever touched [her] in a sexual way. This hair splitting on the definition of 'abuse' was a successful tactic that Family leaders used to convince [the members] that denying abuse was not 'lying' (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 271). Moreover, "if a parent wanted to report sexual abuse of their child to the police or take the offender to court, the Love Charter stated he or she would have to 'give up' their Family membership" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 323). According to Juliana, "a giant purge of all Family publications was ordered across the world. Any MO Letters that condoned sex with minors, or of an extreme sexual nature like Flirty Fishing, the adults tore out and burned. Any sexual content was removed from our True Comix, books, and publications like Life with Grandpa. Anyone with the least talent had to draw bras, underpants, and negligees to cover naked private parts. The Heaven's Girl book was burned and all evidence of its existence expunged completely. History was being re-written" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 229). Additionally, individual Family homes hid Family literature such as the Davidito Letters and the MO Letters when outsiders came to visit (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 34, 195). Celeste Jones underwent hours of media training, included carefully scripted responses and denouncing specific MO Letters (while not denouncing the overall message) in order to 'defend' the Family in media interviews (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 258). These reasons provide some insight into why the Children of God/The Family or its adult members have not been successfully prosecuted for child sexual abuse.

[53] Celeste Jones had a similar experience as an adult in World Services. The house held a dance night, complete with a wall that had peepholes so that some members watched as others performed strip teases (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 324).

> That year, by the summer of 1984 at the Ranch, many of the Medina kids lost their virginity; boys and girls, ten years old, eight years old, in sweaty tents and A-frames, late at night and mid-afternoon, with adults and other children. I remember some of the kids — eight, nine, ten years old — arguing about who had fucked whom, who would or wouldn't fuck them" (2004: 198-199).

Guest was fortunate to have escaped child sexual exploitation. Similar to Berg, at one time sect leader Bhagwan suggested, "in a better world, mothers would initiate their sons into sex, fathers their daughters" (Guest, 2004: 133). Doctrinally sanctioned child-abuse is the most frightening, because child abuse becomes normative. Sexual abuse, then, becomes a second factor in predicting second-generation defection.

The Great White Brotherhood/The Family fits the third definition of sexual abuse, involving heightened awareness and fear of sexuality. For example, Anne instructed the children to shower with their eyes closed, so as not to see their own bodies, especially not to wash "down there" (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 23). Additionally, Anne accused the girls of masturbating in the shower, having sex in cubbie houses, being sluts, and waggling their hips at men (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 109). Anne even inspected the children's underwear for signs of promiscuity (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 109). The author had not even seen a naked male until Year 12 biology, which was after she left the group (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 23).

The children developed coping conditions associated with trauma, such as rocking themselves and head-banging. Anne however, labeled both behaviors to be 'sexual gratification' and punished them through beatings, leaving them outside overnight, or tipping cold water on them (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 48). Additionally, Anne forbade boys and girls from playing together (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 30). When Anne discovered that the author and her friend Megan were playing an imaginary game about "Fairyland," she claimed it "revealed [their] base and sluttish nature and was proof that [their] play had something to do with sex" (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 35). Anne accused the girls of picturing people naked in Fairyland — the girls were around six-years-old at the time (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 35). Obviously, Anne obsessed about sexuality within her sect, which in turn socialized second-generation members into believing that any form of sexuality was evil and immoral.

Hamilton-Byrne alluded to sexual abuse actually occurring, although her memories are vague, due to her being young and possibly traumatized. She recalled Uncle George lining up the little girls, "pulling down their underwear and slapping their bare backsides with his hands" (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 88). She also used to hide in a cupboard from adult member Jim Macfarlane: "I think I know why, but I find it too hard to talk about and am unsure about my hazy memories" (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 74). The author also suggested the 'supervising adults' sexually abused her during her 'going through' (initiation ceremony into the sect), although she also acknowledged that this abuse could be imagined due to the drugs, and the doctor's suggestions that she was evil and subconsciously wanted to be raped (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 144-145). Despite the group's extreme sexual restrictions, it appears the children still were the targets of some adults' sexual advances.

Masson's guru, P.B., also encouraged sexual abstinence, with the exception of married couples whom he taught to be abstinent "for as long as possible" (Masson, 1993: 39). Sexual purity "meant no sexuality whatsoever, in thought or in act" (Masson, 1993: 39). Within Masson's household, however, sexuality existed covertly. For example, Martha, the family's domestic help, sexually molested Masson, and possibly had a sexual relationship with Masson's father (Masson, 1993: 41). Although arguably Masson's molestation is separate from sectarian teachings, Masson believes "[P.B.] created an atmosphere…in which [abuse] could flourish: one of secrecy, charged power, hierarchy, and a refusal to acknowledge what was actually taking place" (Masson, 1993: 41). Another example of questionable sexualized behavior was the practice of bathing as a family, even when Masson was an adolescent (Masson, 1993: 63). Perhaps that is why when P.B. bathed with him at thirteen, Masson initially did not view the incident as sexual or weird (Masson, 1993: 63). Another example of sexual undertones within the family home included Masson's mother frequently administering enemas to him, even into adolescence, as a "health gesture, a means of purifying the boy" (Masson, 1993: 64). Masson reflected on these ambiguous sexual situations:

> Cloaking sexuality in spiritual covers may have disguised the underlying sensations and real meanings, but it did not eliminate them. A spiritual family could not abuse its children; therefore whatever happened in that family, it was not, it *could not* be, sexual abuse" (Masson, 1993: 64, [italics in the original]).

Unlike the overt sexual abuse suffered by the Jones sisters in the Children of God/The Family, Masson's ambiguous sexualization supports a conclusion that sexual abuse is one factor leading to second-generation doubts.

Similarly, Tompkins's New Age childhood came with an ambiguous sexual openness, which was at times overwhelming for Tompkins since he was growing up. For example, one follower of his father, Carrie, had the task of tending the garden, which his father suggested it was necessary to do topless (Tompkins, 1997: 90). Carrie's nudity confused Tompkins as an eleven-year-old boy entering puberty (Tompkins, 1997: 90). According to Tompkins, "Nudity [. . .] was not so much an option in my father's mind as a badge of honor: a sign that you were on the Atlantis team" (1997: 110-111). Tompkins's father structured his home as an open commune, where his followers, or other New Age aficionados, were a steady part of the boy's growing up. The extent of their influence on Tompkins's personal beliefs is unclear, although it is worth noting that they would advocate unusual practices, such as "tree hugging and sex among kindergartners" (Tompkins, 1997: 131). Combined with Tompkins's father's preoccupation with sex, one would think Tompkins suffered steady sexual abuse, or would at least develop a preoccupation with sex. Surprisingly, Tompkins concluded, "there is nothing like living with a sexual prophet to see just how dubious sex is as a transformative tool" (Tompkins, 1997: 139). Tompkins's group mores, therefore, are other examples of second-generation accounts of religiously sanctioned sexualized childhoods. He was fortunate, however, never to have suffered sexual abuse. Sexualized environments, however, appear to be common among some alternative religious groups. Surprisingly, children in my sample appear to intuitively view sexual abuse as abnormal, even within environments presenting sexual abuse as normative.

Emotional/Psychological Abuse

The Great White Brotherhood/The Family used emotional/psychological abuse to reinforce second-generation allegiance. According to Anne's teachings, children were lower than animals (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 15). Psychological abuse included public jeering (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 36), telling Hamilton-Byrne how ugly and fat she was (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 140), threatening the children with bull ants (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 86-87), and threatening to take away visiting privileges to 'Baba' (Anne's guru), whom the children sincerely loved (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 96). Anne threatened death to those who were thinking "wrongly" (e.g. having doubts [Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 148]). She told children that she would execute people who told about their group (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 100). Anne also discouraged friendships, socially isolating children from the outside world (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 30). The sect's geographic isolation additionally prevented the children from knowing what a city was or that there were even other human communities (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 18).

Punishments were another form of psychological abuse used by the Great White Brotherhood/The Family. Anne forced the children to listen to the sounds of their peers being beaten (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 48), and witness public beatings (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 50). Anne publicly beat Sarah with a high-heeled shoe in front of the other children, while her husband, Bill, banged her head into the floor (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 134). While away on visits to Baba in the Catskill Mountains, Anne kept a chart of punishable offences (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 96). If Anne and Bill were overseas and the children misbehaved, then they would disown the children temporarily, calling them gutter scum (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 133).

From a young age, the children learned that kids were inherently evil (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 63). As a result, if the adults were not punishing them, then the children would self-punish, such as hurting themselves deliberately and feeling self-hatred (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 63). Hamilton-Byrne reflected, "I cannot describe the feeling of knowing that you are completely powerless, of thinking that you could be killed at any moment" (1995: 55). Sadly, the children in a way took solace in punishments, as "even if it hurt, it was interaction and attention and human touch: all the things that children need and crave" (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 64). Significantly, by age five, Hamilton-Byrne had already attempted to commit suicide be throwing herself out of a moving vehicle, so that she could go to Heaven and be with Jesus (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 6).[54] Psychological abuse, therefore, became a factor in defection, although at the time, it held the children to the group.

Under the leadership of Brigham Young, emotional/psychological abuse took two forms. The first was public humiliation, and the second was his creation of an environment based on fear of retribution.[55] Women went to Brigham Young, as leader of the Church, to complain of troubles at home (Young, 1876: 392).[56] According to Young, his empathetic response would be to whine, pretend to cry, and mimic them, "until they are fairly outraged by his heartless treatment, and their indignation or grief gets the supremacy over their other trouble" (Young, 1876: 392). On one occasion, Brigham Young issued a deadline (October 6, year not mentioned) for unhappy wives to leave their husbands, rather than bother him with the "scratching and fighting" (Young, 1876: 392).

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[54] In the Children of God/The Family, Juliana Jones nearly committed suicide (she was standing on a second-story window frame, contemplating jumping). Her father did not react to seeing her ready to jump, but he reacted when she told him that she wanted to leave the Family. His suggestion was for her to move from Japan to India, and continue living within the group (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 295). This move did not stop her suicidal thoughts, nor did a move to Ireland (Jones, Jones, and Buhring: 337). Interestingly, Berg "never considered or believed that the children [in the Children of God/The Family] could be harmed psychologically" (Davis with Davis, 1984: 102). Although not specified in the emotional/psychological abuse section, it is clear from evidence presented throughout this thesis, that the sect indeed grossly psychologically harmed children.

[55] One example included aggressive questioning of members. For example, during the Mormon Reformation in 1856, leadership went house to house asking each household member, including children, questions such as "have you ever committed a murder" (Young, 1876: 186). This aggressive questioning contributed to a climate of fear, and emphasized the power held by leadership.

[56] I include the experiences of the early Mormon wives, as some wives were second-generation members.

Apparently, Young considered these women lucky. Brigham Young named the more unfortunate women in the following Sunday sermon (Young, 1876: 393). Brigham Young shamed them along "with coarse jests and unfeeling comments, which render them double wretched, since their husbands [were] incensed at them for complaining, and knowing that they are perfectly safe from priestly indignation or rebuke, make them feel the weight of their displeasure by grosser neglect or more brutal treatment" (Young, 1876: 393). Additionally, Brigham Young "considered himself perfectly at liberty to criticize any sister's dress when he felt so inclined" (Young, 1876: 433). As Brigham Young's wife, the author reflected how he often treated her with indifference, considering himself a polygamous bachelor (Young, 1876: 390). The consistent degradation of women, most notably by her husband, contributed to Young's defection.

Leadership quickly eliminated defectors and critics from the early Mormon Church, constituting an environment of fear among early adherents. According to Young, "it came presently to be noticed that if anyone became tired of Mormonism, or impatient of the increasing despotism of the leader, and returned to the East, or started to do so, he invariably was met by the Indians and killed before he had gone very far" (Young, 1876: 161). Brigham Young preached, "I say, rather than that apostates should flourish here, I will *unsheathe my bowie-knife* and conquer or die" (Young, 1876: 288, [emphasis in original]). During the "Reign of Terror,"[57] leadership recommended 'altars of sacrifice,' complete with willing victims (Young, 1876: 268). Young claimed, if no one came forward, "someone" forcibly sacrificed involuntary victims for "atonement" (1876: 268).[58]

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[57] According to Young, the "Reign of Terror" occurred in 1863, and succeeded the "Reformation" (1876: 267).

Early members had reason to fear that leadership would act on threats. Young claimed that Brigham Young ordered the murder of one-hundred-thirty-three men, women, and children during the Mountain Meadows Massacre: "some were shot, others stabbed, and others had their throats cut. They were entirely stripped of clothing, and their bodies were mutilated by wolves" (1876: 248-249). Young continued to explain how a guilty verdict would have been impossible, as "no twelve men could be found and sworn in who would dare to render an unbiased verdict" (1876: 263). Additional murders allegedly ordered by Brigham Young include the Lobbs murder,[59] the massacre of the Aiken Party,[60] and the

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[58] According to Young, "Usually this mysterious "somebody" was one of the "Danites," or "Destroying Angels," a band of men regularly organized for the purpose of putting obnoxious persons out of the way. It is said that the band had its origins in Missouri, in the early days of Mormonism, before the settlement of Nauvoo. But they never became so very notorious until the "Reformation" times, when their peculiar talents were called into play, and their services into constant requisition" (1876: 268).

[59] Young does not clarify what she meant by the "Lobbs murder" (Young, 1876: 270).

[60] The "Aiken party" murder involved a group of six men who had left Sacremento in May, 1857, to join Johnston's army [Young does not clarify Johnston's army] (Young, 1876: 270). Part of the way they travelled with a party of Mormons "who were ordered home from Missouri to assist in the "Mormon War" (Young, 1876: 270). The Aiken party "got impatient at the slowness with which the Mormon party travelled" and left them (Young, 1876: 270). When the Aiken party reached the nearest town (Raysville, twenty-five miles north of Salt Lake), "they were all arrested on the charge of being government spies," but later released due to lack of evidenced and they were promised [assuming by the court] safe passage (Young, 1876: 271). Instead, under the orders of Bishop Bryant, a Mormon party (including a man named Bigbee, who soon became a Bishop) followed the Aiken party, and murdered them while they slept at their camp (Young. 1876: 271-272). One man, John Aiken, survived the attack and with Bishop Foote, wrote an account of the murder (Young, 1876: 274). Another party of Mormons, however, tracked him down and killed him (Young, 1876: 274).

Yates murder (Young, 1876: Ch. XV, Ch. XVI).[61] "Indians" apparently murdered Thomas Williams, an apostate who spoke openly of the murder plots generated within the Mormon Church (Young, 1876: 286-287). It was, however, "very well known [. . .] at Salt Lake, that the "Indians" engaged in this assassination were *white*, and that Williams was murdered by the express order of the church authorities, who knew that he would prove a dangerous enemy" (Young, 1876: 287 [emphasis in the original]). The climate of fear instilled by the murders constituted emotional abuse of disciples, especially impressionable second-generation members.

The best an apostate could hope for would be harmful gossip, abuse through [Mormon] newspapers, having the church curse him or her, and being given over "to the tender mercies of Satan" (Young, 1876: 263-264, 308, 550). Young claimed, "it is no wonder that suicides have been so common among the Mormon women: if they left 'Zion,' it must be at the sacrifice either of life or reputation, and in the hopeless apathetic state into which they were sunk, it was easier to die than to struggle" (Young, 1876: 310).

Guest (2004) briefly mentioned psychological abuse of children in the Rajneeshees. Firstly, the impending end of the world (supposedly in 1984) was extremely frightening to children (Guest, 2004: 170). Secondly, Bhagwan's fear of AIDS also extended into AIDS testing for children — Guest was under ten years old when he was tested (2004: 177). AIDS became a new terror for children. The Moons were not so much verbally abusive to Nansook Hong as simply rude. For example, the Moons held her entire wedding reception in English, a language she did not yet understand (Hong, 1998: 89-90). Additionally, they left Disneyland ten minutes into her honeymoon, even through Hong was very much enjoying it (1998: 92). The remaining autobiographies did not mention any emotional/psychological abuse.

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[61] The Mormons accused Yates, a trader on the Green River, of being a government spy, and providing supplies to the army (Young, 1876: 278). According to Bill Hickman's own account, Joseph A. Young, Brigham's son, instructed the pair of them to kill Yates (Young, 1876: 278). They found him in an encampment and murdered him while he slept, and brought the nine hundred dollars in gold he had on him to Brigham Young, who wanted the money to fund the Mormon war against the 'state' (Young, 1876: 278). Brigham Young and other Mormon officials were arrested in conjunction with the Yates murder, but were later released (Young, 1876: 277-278).

Spiritual Abuse

As a reminder from the Introduction, I defined spiritual abuse as leadership using promises and threats of supposedly otherworldly rewards and punishments to ensure compliance of second-generation members on issues that are likely to be detrimental to their physical and/or emotional health. Spiritual abuse occurs when leadership actively discourages doubts and questions, and may even punish members for voicing dissention. A key component of spiritual abuse is that it ultimately benefits leaders over followers, so that leadership deification is one of its many forms.

Spiritual abuse differs from emotional/psychological abuse by its use of supposedly supernatural (as opposed to purely secular) claims and actions. For example, with emotional/psychological abuse, leadership may threaten the safety of family members outside of the group without invoking any divine justification for doing so. With emotional/psychological abuse, the group may consider outsiders a threat to the group's survival (for example, through legal action). With spiritual abuse, leadership may demonize outsiders, thus providing an 'otherworldly' consequence for critics, such as critics allegedly going to hell. Spiritual abuse of children is especially insidious, since these young people have not yet reached a level of cognitive development necessary for discussing otherworldly issues at an abstract level. Second-generation defectors most frequently cited spiritual abuse as their reason for leaving. Discovering internal hypocrisy concerning dogma prompted the majority of this sample of autobiographies to leave their respective groups.

For the early Mormons, loyalty to the group was paramount, and the orders of leadership were absolute. "There is no despotic monarchy in the world where the word of the sovereign is so absolute as in Utah" (Young, 1876: 308). During baptisms, members swear to "never question the commands of [their] authorities in the church, [and] grant them instant obedience" (Young, 1876: 368). Members also swore "to entertain an everlasting enmity to the United States government, and to disregard its laws so far as possible" (Young, 1876: 368). Brigham Young justified his celestial (plural) marriage to the author by claiming the marriage would save her and exalt her to be a queen in the celestial world, whereas a refusal would destroy her body and soul (Young, 1876: 498).[62]

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[62] Young claimed that Brigham Young chose to marry her, "not, [she] think[s], for any particular affection which he cherished for [her], but to punish [her] for [her] foolish speech, and to show [her] that his will was stronger than [hers], and that he did not choose to be set at defiance even by so insignificant a person as [herself]" (1876: 377).

Although the author considered marrying Brigham Young to be "too monstrous an absurdity" (Young, 1876: 440), she did agree to marry him to ease the hardships he imposed on her family (Young, 1876: Ch. XXVIII: 440-454). Brigham Young provided a clear example of leadership deification, which is one frequent aspect of spiritual abuse.

The policy of Blood Atonement[63] in the early Mormon Church suggested that members "who were guilty of certain crimes were counseled to shed their blood to save their souls" (Young, 1876: 187). Accusations and punishments were frequent occurrences. "Everything, even the most trifling, that a person did, which was at all offensive to any member of the priesthood, was accounted apostasy and punishment was administered as speedily as possible" (Young, 1876: 279). Accusations of crimes were so common that members' reactions went beyond horror to curiosity and gossip about who leaders would accuse next (Young, 1876: 279). Opposition was negligible, as even neglecting the counsel of the priesthood could result in a charge of apostasy (Young, 1876: 307). The policy of Blood Atonement exemplifies my definition of leadership using otherworldly consequences ("shed their blood to save their souls" [Young, 1876: 187]) for personal gain (docile membership).

Leadership in the early Mormon Church also demonized outsiders, which is yet another example of spiritual abuse. For example, leadership encouraged members to consider outsiders, especially curious Gentiles, to be evil and immoral. According to Young, "an apostate's or Gentile's life was worth absolutely nothing. It was difficult to tell which of the two [(Gentiles or apostates) leadership] hated with the most deadly hatred" (1876: 264).

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[63] The policy of Blood Atonement also overlaps with emotional/psychological abuse.

Young's baptismal ceremony represented Quakers, Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Catholics as 'false religions' urged on by the devil (Young, 1876: 367). Young was:

> taught from [her] earliest childhood that there was nothing good outside of the Mormon Church; that Gentile men were bad to the core, possessing neither honor nor manly virtues of any kind, and that every Gentile woman was so vile as to be utterly unworthy of mention; that goodness was unknown among them, and that certain destruction awaited them and those who associated with them (Young, 1876: 395-396).

This skewed view of the outside world constituted spiritual abuse, because it demonized non-members into an evil, sub-human category.

The early Mormon Church, however, went beyond feelings of hatred towards outsiders. Young alleged that Church leadership set up the surveillance of critics, culminating in curious 'accidents' and threatened assassinations (1876: 264-265).[64] Indeed, Young was afraid to become an apostate because her church "taught [her] that [she] should be given over to eternal damnation" (Young1876:

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[64] Bill Hickman, who was allegedly Brigham Young's "Destroying Angel," was responsible for murders that Brigham Young ordered, but he complained that he did not get paid for the "dirty work." The author, however, alleged he was paid with wives — seventeen in total at the time of publication (Young, 1876: 279).

544). This attitude towards apostates spiritually manipulated second-generation members to remain within the early Mormon Church.

Another aspect of spiritual abuse is deification of leadership. In the Great White Brotherhood/The Family, The Aunties told the Hamilton-Byrne children that Anne was Jesus Christ reincarnated (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 39). Not surprisingly, the children believed Anne read their thoughts and anticipated their actions (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 104). Anne reinforced the notion of her omnipotence. For example, she wrote the children a letter saying she "hovered above [their] beds at night in her spirit form and so knew all that was going on and what [the children] were dreaming about" (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 112). Anne led the children to believe that she could curse people, resulting in cancer or death of a loved one, if she were displeased (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 121, 174). Even during the police raid on the Uptop compound, the author was shocked that the police had the authority to remove the children from the home (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 175). The author's little brother, Ben, did not think, "…*anyone* was higher up than Mummy and Daddy" (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 178, italics in original). Anne reinforced herself as the children's savior, telling the children that police or other authorities would torture and kill them (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 176). Like Brigham Young, therefore, Anne Hamilton-Byrne's self-deification constitutes spiritual abuse of second-generation members.

Similarly, the Children of God/The Family socialized the children to believe that David Berg was God's Endtime Prophet, and doubts about his status were the work of the devil (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 276). Both Berg and Rajneesh reinforced their deification by surrounding members with their images. One example of this image-placement within the Children of God/The Family was the cartoon accompaniments within the MO Letters. Like Berg, Rajneesh was rarely physically present, "but was always there — in his books, his tapes, the songs [the sect] sang at celebrations," in ever-present malas[65] and large laminate photos (Guest, 2004: 87). These and other examples of leadership deification represent spiritual abuse because children's sects socialize them not to distinguish between their leaders as human beings and their leaders as spiritual beings.

Masson's parents believed that P.B. was a living "master," "reincarnated on earth to help other less fortunate mortals" (Masson, 1993: xii). Masson's parents interpreted P.B.'s secretiveness a sign that he "was conducting a secret counterwar, a spiritual campaign of such staggering significance that only the great mythological battles of ancient times could provide an analogy" (Masson, 1993: xiv). Even Masson's uncle, a follower of P.B., believed P.B. "was an avatar, that is, an incarnation of the god head, that he was an 'adept' with tremendous occult powers" (Masson, 1993: 11). P.B. reinforced this mystique, attending dinner parties incognito, not wishing to be "discovered" (Masson, 1993: 73). P.B. also confirmed to Masson that it was true "that lowly evolved people with black auras want to stop [his] teaching" (Masson, 1993: 81). Masson summed up spiritual abuse quite concisely:

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[65] Malas refer to the necklaces popularly worn by Rajneeshees, which had pictures of their leader (Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh) as a pendant.

> My world was the ordinary world of the child. Instead of leaving me there to grow as a child, [P.B.] took me into his world, with its bizarre superstitions and beliefs not shared by the world around us (Masson, 1993: 87).

Masson wrote of feeling "both emotionally and intellectually immature, suffering from a kind of spiritually created retardation" (1993: 106). P.B. was beyond reproach, since personal questions were off-limits: "at best it's impolite, at worst apostasy" (Masson, 1993: 173). Similar to other leaders, P.B. taught that doubt was a personal failure or evil influence (Masson, 1993: 173). In retrospect, Masson reflected, "you are not just expected to accept irrationality, you are to revel in it" (Masson, 1993: 173). Like in the Rajneeshees, and the Great White Brotherhood/The Family, Masson's guru, P.B., presented himself as a deity. Education and skepticism, largely attributed to cognitive maturation, contributed to Masson's disaffiliation.

Reverend Sun Myung Moon of the Unification Church provides another example of self-deification. The Unification Church believes Reverend Sun Myung Moon is "Lord of the Second Advent" (Hong, 1998: 4). He and his wife are to complete Jesus' mission in restoring the Garden of Eden, built on the "flawless foundation" of the True Children (Hong, 1998: 5, 20). [66] Similar to Hamilton-Byrne's (1995) and the Jones sisters' (2007) recorded experiences, doubting leadership was akin to doubting Jesus (Hong, 1998: 16). Moon believes that he is the reincarnation of mainstream religion prophets, and claims to speak directly with Buddha, Jesus, and Moses (Hong, 1998: 19). On August 20, 1985, Moon held a ceremony declaring himself and his wife Emperor and Empress of the Universe (Hong, 1998: 148). This ceremony became a key incident for Hong: for the first time she voiced her doubts to her parents about Reverend Moon's legitimacy (Hong, 1998: 149).

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[66] According to the Unification Church, True Children are born without original sin.

Along with his present wife, Reverend Moon deified his biological family. This deification led to a bizarre ritual related to the death of his son, Heung Jin, who died in a car crash. Moon preached that Jesus was so impressed with Heung Jin that he abdicated His position as King of Heaven (Hong, 1998: 136-167). Moreover, to get around his sect's belief that one has to be married in order to get into Heaven, Moon 'married' his deceased son to Hoon Sook Pak, the daughter of a wealthy follower (Hong, 1998: 138). The Heung Jin incident tested Hong's faith further, when Moon declared that he found his son reincarnated in a Zimbabwean man (Hong, 1998: 150). Hong wrote, "[she] was living with either the stupidest or the most gullible people on earth" (1998: 152). The Unification Church, therefore, clearly demonstrates one of the characteristics of spiritual abuse: leadership deification.

Within the autobiographies, the authors noted one primary reason for defection resulted from noticing the hypocrisy between sect beliefs and practice. I included leadership hypocrisy as spiritual abuse, since the sect teaches second-generation members to uncritically 'buy into' a belief and/or behavior system that leadership does not necessarily follow. This hypocrisy creates a double standard between supposedly otherworldly consequences for members compared with those for leadership.

The hypocrisy between everyday life with the Moons compared to church dogma led to Hong's disaffiliation. For example, Reverend Moon blamed Hong for her husband's abusive and illegal behaviors, claiming that they were a result of her failure as a wife (Hong, 1998: 8, 97, 110). According to Hong, her husband, Hyo Jin, was a drug addict (1998: 3, 97-98), pornography addict (1998: 3), alcoholic (1998: 4), gambler (1998: 93) and adulterer (1998: 6, 105-107, 120-121), all of which the Unification Church prohibits (1998: 22, 93). The hypocritical behaviors of the Moon children, specifically Hyo Jin, constitutes spiritual abuse, in that the Unification Church elevates the True Children to the status of living deities, and therefore presents them as faultless (Hong, 1998: 100).[67] The Unification Church even teaches the True Children's accomplishments as part of Sunday school lessons (Hong, 1998: 47). Hong asked, "How could I be sitting in [a Las Vegas Casino] with the True Children of the Reverend Moon while they engaged in the very behavior that Father traveled the globe denouncing?" (1998: 96). The Moons' hypocrisy reinforced Hong's doubts, which contributed to her defection.

Similarly, hypocrisy within the Children of God/The Family contributed to the Jones sisters' defection. For example, one Children of God/The Family charitable program, "Consider the Poor," intended members to collect surplus goods to distribute to the downtrodden; instead, they kept the best for themselves (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 373). Another example of internal hypocrisy was Berg's admission of alcoholism, which surprised Celeste, not so much for his actions, but because adult members who "seemed to readily excuse [Mo's] indiscretions because he was 'God's anointed'" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 47). Berg's odd behavior, such as deciding membership should use only spoons as an eating utensil, struck Celeste as "ridiculous" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 64). Increasingly, Celeste suspected membership was submitting to Berg's whims and not to God's commands (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 91, 327-329, 352). Ironically, living in World Services, which included the top echelon of Children of God/The Family leadership (including Queen Maria), led Celeste to "question everything [she] had been told" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 350).

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[67] Similarly, second-generation members in the Children of God/The Family grew up idolizing and mimicking the 'Royal Family' (Berg's biological family unit), whose lives they followed in the MO Letters (Jones, Jones, and Buhring: 26).

Juliana's doubts led to a private examination of the Bible, and concluded "for every single verse the Family used to justify one of their doctrines, there were four that argued against them" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 382-383). Another example of the sect's hypocrisy was the sect's reaction to the suicide of Davidito, who was Maria's son and the sect's example of the ideal second-generation member (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 385). Initially, the Children of God/The Family criticized Davidito's suicide as the influence of the Devil, but posthumously, the Family deified Davidito as having reconciled with Jesus, never admitting how sect practices such as childhood sexualization, may have contributed to his suicide (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 384-385).

For Kristina Jones, "it seemed unlikely to [her] that God would approve of physical and emotional cruelty to small children" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 190). Kristina recalled:

> Members had to stick to a weekly ration of an eight-ounce glass of wine, while we read that Grandpa [Berg] was always getting drunk. We were punished for using bad language, but in his Letters Grandpa swore four-letter words all the time. We could never get angry and always had to show love, while we read Grandpa's angry letters in which he ranted, belittled and tore people down. When Family members were ill, God was punishing them for their sins, and yet Grandpa was always sick (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 198).

Like Hong, hypocrisy within top-level leadership contributed to the Jones sisters' defections.

Spiritual abuse also includes elevating sect members into special status, with the implication that non-members are inferior. Leadership reinforced to second-generation members of the Children of God/The Family that they "were 'It' – the best place on earth to be" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 83). Berg "boasted that [the children] were […] a pure second generation untainted by the outside world" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: ix). The 'System' (according to first-generation members who previously lived in it prior to joining the sect) was full of "tragedy, pain, and emptiness" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 83). By keeping the second-generation isolated, the children would be "untarnished" by

Systemite life (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 22). According to Celeste Jones, the Traumatic Testimonies series published by the Family gave children the impression that the outside world was full of "rape, wife beating, violence, and drug use," and "if [the children] left God's wonderful Family of Love [they] could expect much worse" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 256).

The totality of dogma encompassing everyday life cannot be underestimated. For Celeste Jones, "God, Jesus, the angels and the Devil were real and part of our everyday lives" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 24). Her sister, Juliana:

> grew up believing [she] would be twelve years old when Christ returned. It meant [she] only had six years left to live. It was something of a relief to know [she] would not have to grow old and die. Unless, of course, [she] was captured by the evil Antichrist forces and they tortured [her] and she died as a martyr. That was [her] greatest fear" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 138).

Doubt or critical questioning supposedly was the influence of the Devil (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 24). Kristina Jones "was taught that every frown and murmur sent up a foul smell to Jesus' nostrils" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 171).

On one occasion, Celeste was sentenced to a "month in isolation, reading and writing reactions to MO Letters on rebellion, yieldedness, submission and demon possession" for voicing doubts (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 89). At the teen camps, leadership brazenly told the teens "Yes, we're brainwashing you – washing your brain clean of the Devil's influences and replacing it with the Word" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 83).

The Children of God/The Family also banned some typical childhood modes of expression. For example, Juliana enjoyed writing, but adults confiscated hers and "pronounced [it] to be evil and inspired by the Devil;" only Berg as God's prophet had the privilege of writing freely (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 219). The only form of writing that leadership encouraged second-generation members to participate in was Open Heart Reports,[68] which were essentially public confessionals (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 225). In this example, adult members used otherworldly consequences (the Devil inspiring Juliana's writing) to gain her compliance, and curtail independent thought, thus constituting spiritual abuse.

Spiritual abuse also overlaps with sexism, when sects claim to justify the spiritual inferiority of females through sect doctrine. For example, P.B. taught, "physical contact with women should be avoided" because of "bad karma and vibrations" (Masson, 1993: 21).[69] According to Masson:

> [P.B.] thought that modern man had left religious faith and mystical practice to women, which was a serious mistake, since a woman, in his

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[68] Juliana explained Open Heart Reports as "every negative thought, all the lessons we had learned, any conversation we had with our peers, and a written reaction to all the MO Letters we read had to be recorded. We were also encouraged to report on our classmates" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 225).

[69] P.B., however, did get married, providing another example of hypocrisy of leadership (Masson, 1993: 21).

> view, could never rise to the mystic heights a man could. He considered women's intelligence negligible (Masson, 1993: 102).

Clearly, P.B. encouraged Masson (who was a child at the time) to dismiss women as inferior spiritual beings.

Since children have not yet reached the level of cognitive abstraction as adult sect members, at times the sects' spirituality alienated its second-generation members. This alienation is not directly spiritual abuse, but helps to explain why second-generation members initially begin feeling alienated from sect beliefs. Celeste Jones recalled her home's initial exposure to the Garden of Eden series:

> The room went quiet immediately. Mo began to speak. When he talked 'in tongues,' everyone joined in. They raised their hands in the air when he did and followed his every move. I looked from one person to another, wondering what on earth was going on. I didn't understand what they were saying. I didn't know how to speak in tongues. When they started weeping and crying, I wondered what I was missing out on. Sometimes, during united singing the atmosphere became emotionally charged and I felt a slight shiver, like goosebumps – had Jesus touched me? People said that was what it felt like. Everyone seemed as if they had been touched by Jesus watching those videos, and I wished that something would happen to me too – but it never did (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 40).

Celeste appears to have been too young to reach a level of abstract spiritual experience.

With Masson, as a child he was not cognitively prepared to confront adult issues. For example, P.B. prophesized an imminent World War III — a frightening concept for a child. P.B. did not allow his disciples to mention the prophesized war to extended family and friends, and suggested his followers move to South America (Masson, 1993: 135, 141).[70] Like Masson, Tompkins's New Age upbringing defied conventional norms. By thirteen, Tompkins thought it was normal to practice scuba diving in his home pool as preparation for helping his father "locate the lost continent of Atlantis on the floor of the Caribbean Ocean" (Tompkins, 1997: 1). This scuba training is another example of spiritual abuse, as it demonstrates a concerted effort by influential adults on a child to favor irrational beliefs over conventional science. Unlike childhood Santa mythology, for example, where parents expect children to eventually question and doubt Santa's existence, for Tompkins to doubt Atlantis would have potentially alienated him from his father. In this sense, Tompkins's father was spiritually abusive in that he discouraged his son's questioning of his 'faith' in Atlantis, for his gain of another loyal follower.

For Tompkins, his father's unusual beliefs influenced his own emotional and spiritual development. As a child, Tompkins was not equipped maturationally or emotionally for many of the unusual abstract notions held by his father and his followers. For example, by the time Tompkins was in fourth grade, "the concept of an invading presence – one that sweeps in and blows the ordinary world away – was something [he] believed in and thought about every day" (1997: 67). Tompkins avidly read horror stories, as they "firmed up [his] convictions, now fed every day by the activities of the adults around [him], that there was something fundamentally wrong with human beings" (1997: 59). His father:

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[70] The move was disastrous for some of P.B.'s followers, such as Masson's uncle, who had destroyed his family financially to move to Ecuador, only to find out P.B. was not moving as well (Masson, 1993: 142-143). In Ecuador, Masson's parents (by chance) met a set of Jewish disciples of Krishnamenon, who ridiculed the World War III prophecy, and were critical and skeptical of P.B. This encounter was the beginning of Masson's family's disaffiliation (Masson, 1993: 145).

> Was the one to suggest that ancient astronauts had visited the earth, that psychic surgeons could cure your inoperable cancer, that the ancient Egyptians possessed magical techniques for levitating twenty-thousand-pound rocks, and that you yourself might even have been one of those Egyptian magicians in a previous incarnation (Tompkins, 1997: 8).

Tompkins also grew up believing his mother had the ability to leave her body and float above it (Tompkins, 1997: 262). When a girl drowned near his home, Tompkins wanted to stay to watch her being pulled from the river as it "spoke" to him, with death representing a world beyond the existing one (Tompkins, 1997: 60-61). This reaction indicates Tompkins's father's beliefs affected his experiences of a 'normal,' healthy childhood.

When Tompkins defected as an adult, he blamed "Atlantis, [German spiritual leader Rudolf] Steiner, [his] father, and the whole, rich, bizarre bouillabaisse of influences that made up [his] life" (1997: 270). As an adult, Tompkins was an alcoholic, pill popper, and admitted heroin user (1997: 286). Tompkins, therefore, indirectly suggests that unintentional spiritual abuse contributed to his adulthood disillusionment and defection.

The autobiographies in this sample demonstrate that spiritual abuse is a contributing factor in second-generation defection. Although leadership and caretakers socialize the children into spiritual mythologies, as the children age and their critical thinking skills develop, the hypocrisy between faith and practice begins to plant the seeds of doubt that lead to disaffiliation. Perhaps more adults in the alternative religious groups choose not to recognize the harm done to second-generation members, because they would then have to acknowledge their role in putting their children directly in harm's way.

Institutional Abuse

Familial Abuse

Familial abuse is the first type of 'institutional abuse' discussed. I define familial abuse as sect beliefs or practices that intentionally threaten the stability of the nuclear family unit, in support of organizational goals. The key with familial abuse is there is a lack of input from parents and/or children; leadership determines family structure and roles.

The Children of God/The Family repeatedly rearranged family units — acts that constituted familial abuse. Indeed, Berg's attitude was blasé about the caretaking of the thousands of children in the sect. He desired the Children of God/The Family to replace individual family loyalties (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 6). For example, leadership reassigned Celeste's three-month-old stepbrother, Victor, to live with another Children of God/The Family couple who were childless (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 62). The sect told Kristina's mother "that she had no rights over us children because we belonged to the Family and God" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 188). When Celeste's mother left with her sister, Kristina, her father told Celeste that her mother and sister were "not coming back" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 5). The attitude of Celeste's father underscores the influence of sect attitudes, since he believed there was nothing 'wrong' splitting up the family, since Celeste would "see them again soon, if not here on earth, then in the Millennium" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 37). When Juliana's mother, Serena, left,[71] Juliana concluded that her family did not want her (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 120-121). The continual separation and family shuffling only reinforced this view. Thus, parental breakups within the Children of God/The Family take on a unique spiritual justification not common in normative spousal breakups.

The Children of God/The Family additionally alleviated parents of child-rearing responsibilities, in order to have the parents focusing on their work within the sect (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 68). According to Kristina, "the directives said that [the children] were to be sent permanently to different training camps, and parents would only be allowed to visit them for two hours on Sundays" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 202). At the age of nine, adults entrusted Celeste with the care of younger children "while the adults had meetings, or during their Saturday-night movie" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 61). Even as a young adult working in World Services, Celeste realized that only sect leadership knew where she was stationed, and it was up to them whether or not to release her contact information to her family members (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 316). Similarly, when the sect moved Juliana through various foster parents, her mother "was not informed of [her] whereabouts" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 124). Adults within the sect consistently told Juliana throughout her childhood that she "would be blessed for giving up [her] parents for God's Work" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 148). Even when Juliana's father worked near her school, she saw him "once or twice a week" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 148).

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[71] Serena left to seek medical attention for Juliana's younger brother (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 120-121).

If Celeste and/or Juliana's parents were worried, then the Children of God/The Family mislead them, staging how happy the girls were separated from their parents and raised communally. Once a year, leadership sent the sisters in their best clothes to have their photograph taken, which the sect combined with a heavily censored letter to their father (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 220).

Berg also split up families as punishment. According to Kristina:

> [Her mother] knew that the philosophy of the group was to take children away from backslider parents and hand them over to the Family. Some children had been separated for years — and some never saw their parents again and had no idea where they were because their names had been changed (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 203).

When Kristina's mother left the group, leaders in her home encouraged her to pray against her own mother (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 198). When

Kristina defected, the sect placed her name as well as her mother's on the Worldwide Prayer List to pray against (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 253). Celeste's father told her, "'The Devil is using your Mum to attack the Family and try to stop us from carrying out our mission to 'save souls for Jesus'" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 110). Her mother had "better watch out because she's 'touching the apple of God's eye' " (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 110).

The sect also viewed second-generation defectors with scorn. When Celeste defected, the sect viewed her as "possessed by a Vandari – a blood-sucking parasite demon" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 337). 'Queen Maria' additionally released letters "saying anyone who left could be influenced by the Devil and tell exaggerated stories" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 376). Familial abuse contributed to the sisters' doubts about leadership's wisdom.

Similar to the Children of God/The Family, the early Mormon Church rearranged traditional nuclear family life by adopting the practice of celestial (plural/polygamous) marriage. Founder Joseph Smith purportedly pursued married women for "spiritual alliance," as well as young and unmarried women (Young, 1876: 70). Smith taught the married women that their marriage covenants were "not binding, because they were ratified only by Gentile laws. These laws the Lord did not recognize; consequently all women were free" (Young, 1876: 70). Again, like the Children of God/The Family, within the original Mormon

Church under Joseph Smith, "the greatest promiscuity was practiced," resulting in children with uncertain parentage (Young, 1876: 71).[72]

Even when the father was known, they were often absent from childrearing responsibilities. One religious leader quipped, "well, the bull never takes any care of his calves" (Young, 1876: 406). One of the primary reasons for Young's defection was witnessing an interaction between a happy Gentile family, which she writes, "I thought of the father's love of which my children were robbed – of which all children in Utah are robbed – by a fiendish system, given by a corrupt priesthood under the guise of a 'Revelation' from God" (1876: 406). Combined with Brigham Young's inability to "provide even the commonest necessaries of life for [his family]," Young defected (Young, 1876: 539). Both the Jones sisters and Young were resentful and saddened by their sects raising them with absentee biological fathers.

The early Mormon Church taught that opposition to plural marriage was selfish and wicked (Young, 1876: 100). Plural marriage directly affected the author's childhood, because her father was ordered (not clear by whom) to "live up to his privileges" and take another wife, even though her mother was very unhappy with the new doctrine (Young, 1876: 100-102). Young's mother admitted she would have killed herself had it not been for the responsibility of her children (Young, 1876: 106). Celestial marriage "was carried on to such an extent, that, as in the old days of the first 'Endowments' in Nauvoo Temple, the ceremony of sealing was literally going on day and night" (Young, 1876: 290). The author grew up in polygamy, referring to it as "the curse of a wrecked home and a life's unhappiness" (Young, 1876: 108). Young, therefore, implied that familial abuse led to an emotionally unstable childhood, knowing her mother resented her father to the point of being suicidal.

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[72] The Children of God/The Family referred to children with uncertain fatherhood as 'Jesus Babies.'

The early Mormon Church biblically supported the doctrine of Celestial Marriage, citing examples such as Sarah giving Hagar to Abraham, suggesting wives essentially had a say in who the new wives would be (Young, 1876: 291). According to the author, however:

> Wives did not know when their husbands would bring home another woman to share their home and their husband; for the clause in the 'Revelation' that declared that a man should seek his wife's consent to a plural marriage, and that she should herself give the new wife to her husband, 'even as Sarah gave Hagar to Abraham,' was merely a dead letter, and was not minded in the majority of cases (Young, 1876: 291).

A woman could not refuse polygamous marriages, including additional wives for her husband, since she would incur the wrath of spirits that would rise up in judgment against her (Young, 1876: 307). Because of plural marriage, the author, "no longer took pleasure in [female] society, for [she] saw in each [female] a probable rival, and a possible addition to [her] household" (Young, 1876: 400).[73]

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[73] Young's health "which was never very good, gave way under the terrible mental and physical strain to which [she] was subjected, and [she] was in danger of becoming a confirmed invalid" (Young, 1876: 401).

Celestial Marriage also was detrimental to women, because "the leaders of [a Mormon woman's] religion teach openly that it is not right for husbands to live with their wives after they are advanced in years; and they also teach that a man is marriageable until he is a hundred years old" (Young, 1876: 322). The early Mormon Church, then, raised second-generation members to believe in the inferiority of women.

The Reformation[74] was an especially low point for the early Mormon Church, because (according to Young), "even the laws of consanguinity were not respected at that terrible time, and relatives intermarried in a manner that would shock even the most lax-moralled community" (Young, 1876: 310).[75] Additionally, the "marriage of mother and daughter to one man was of so common an occurrence that it ceased to be regarded as anything out of the ordinary course of events" (Young, 1876: 320). From its inception, Celestial Marriage intentionally destroyed the bonds and boundaries of the traditional nuclear family structure.

As in the previous section on spiritual abuse, the early Mormon Church did not tolerate internal resistance to Celestial Marriage. Men opposed to polygamy "drew down Prophetic and Apostolic wrath onto their heads" (Young,

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[74] Young did not actually explain the term "Reformation," but used it to refer to the period in Mormon history in 1857, to refer to acts born out of the doctrine of "Blood Atonement" (Young, 1876: 228).

[75] Bishop Johnson of Springville married six of his nieces, the eldest who was fifteen, and the youngest two, but he did not officially seal the marriage until the toddler was thirteen (Young: 310-311).

1876: 136).[76] Leadership threatened women who were resistant with never seeing salvation (Young, 1876: 139). In this sense, spiritual abuse overlaps with familial abuse. Young recalls many women who:

> were exceedingly rebellious, and would have returned to the States had it been possible; but they had no means, and no prospect of getting any, and they could only stay on and endure in sullen silence and inward rebellion, which, after a while, when they found there was no escape became a sort of hopeless apathy, which was by no means resignation (1876: 139).

Leadership has the ability to split families, by moving the men to a different area, usually for personal gain.[77] Life within Celestial Marriage also did not guarantee stability.[78]

Similarly, the beliefs of Tompkins's father threatened the stability of his nuclear family. At age eight, his father decided to take a new wife, Betty Vreeland,[79] which resulted in his mother abandoning the family for ten days (Tompkins, 1997: 12, 34-37, 39). Adding to Tompkins's confusion, his parents officially divorced in 1971 (when he was nine-years-old), yet his mother continued living in the family home (Tompkins, 1997: 94). The lack of boundaries between his parents after their divorce, combined with the continuous parade of fellow New Age sympathizers through his home, caused Tompkins feelings of uncertainty. Tompkins also suggested that his siblings were impacted by the family instability, since by 1995, neither of his siblings were speaking to his parents, possibly because of a "lack of interest on the part of [their] parents that was in direct contrast to the enthusiastic reception [Tompkins] had received" (1997: 209). Familial abuse within the Tompkins household appears unintentional, yet inevitably contributed to second-generation alienation and subsequent defection.

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[76] Some powerful quotes from leading men in the early Church include: "The man who refuses to enter polygamy will be eternally damned" (Brigham Young qtd. in Young, 1876: 290-291). "Who marries out of the church marries for hell" (Herber C. Kimball, qtd. in Young, 1876: 291). "I think no more of taking a wife that I do of buying a cow" (Herber C. Kimball, addressing the congregation in the Tabernacle, qtd. in Young, 1876: 292).

[77] Young accused Brigham Young of sending away men in the community so that he could gain benefits for himself, such as less competition for female attention, or increasing his land holdings without opposition (Young, 1876: 170). In one instance, Brigham Young seduced Widow Lewis into marrying him, for the purpose of acquiring her land in order to pass a water line through it, and did not visit her afterwards for at least a year (Young, 1876: 281-286).

[78] For example, the author accused Apostle Orson Pratt of leaving his wives to "shift for [themselves], or to starve and die of neglect. Two, at least, have met this fate [. . .]" (Young, 1876: 150).

[79] Betty Vreeland split up her own nuclear family by abandoning her husband and two children in order to live with Tompkins's father (Tompkins, 1997: 34-37).

Guest's (2004) autobiography is essentially a story of maternal abandonment and reconnection — familial abuse instituted by the Rajneeshees. Similar to Berg's philosophy was to surrender children "to the love and support of the commune, in order to save [them] from the traumatic confines of nuclear family life" (Guest, 2004: 93). The children belonged to the commune, not to their mother and father (Guest, 2004: 93). Guest spent increasingly less time with his mother, searching for other adults to provide basic care and contact (2004: 94, 96, 157). A fellow disciple told Guest's mother: "You have two millstones around your neck: your lover and your son. All you have to do is get rid of them, and you will fly" (Guest, 2004: 73). Rajneeshees thus encouraged familial abuse by eliminating the guilt of childhood abandonment, and instead interpreting abandonment as spiritual advancement.

The second-generation Rajneeshees relied on each other for intimacy (Guest, 2004: 163). Guest is careful to point out that he was not an exception; children at the Ranch (the sect's commune in Oregon) seemed to spend most of their time wandering around, doing whatever they wanted to (2004: 196). As a result, Guest stopped taking care of his personal hygiene and lost interest in his hobbies, as they reminded him of his mother (2004: 108, 144). Guest's autobiography demonstrates institutionalized absentee parenting, a characteristic of familial abuse. His negative feelings towards the sect and his mother, leading to his defection, were born out of feeling overlooked and neglected.

For Masson, familial abuse resulted from integrating his family's guru, P.B., into the family – there simply were no boundaries (1993: 27). For example, Masson was distressed upon returning from summer camp to discover his parents had given P.B. his room (1993: 98). Similar to the Children of God/The Family's 'us vs. them' mentality, P.B. taught the extended family "who had no interest in him or his teachings – [were] 'lowly evolved'" (Masson, 1993: 28). Similar to the Jones sisters and Guest, a housekeeper cared for Masson and his sister while his parents were otherwise occupied by sect practices, such as extended fasts (Masson, 1993: 34).

Hong's (1998) experiences in the Unification Church overlap with those of the Jones sisters (2007) and Guest's (2004) split families and neglected childhoods. Similar to Guest (2004), Hong's mother "was away most of her childhood" (1998: 33). Reverend Moon "taught his followers that God would take care of their children if his followers took care of him" (Hong, 1998: 34). Some disciples simply abandoned their children in orphanages in order to preach full time; some never returned to collect their children (Hong, 1998: 35). Biological families also were reassigned, similar to the Jones sisters' experiences in the Children of God/The Family. In the Unification Church, at times babies were 'given' to infertile couples from families with many children (Hong, 1998: 139). Hong's children became a motivating factor in fleeing because she did not want her children raised "in the cloistered, poisonous world of the True Family" (1998: 7). For Hong, having a family became the catalyst for saying 'no,' and critically assessing her commitment to the True Family (1998: 171). Familial abuse, therefore, was a motivating factor in the defection of Hong (1998), Guest (2004), and the Jones sisters (2007).

Educational Abuse

Educational abuse constitutes the second form of institutional abuse. I define educational abuse as the sect intentionally withholding educational opportunities from the children, providing sub-par teaching services, teaching false information, and/or omitting teaching subjects such as history or science. These factors constitute educational abuse as they limit the opportunities available to second-generation children especially if they leave the sect. The goal is producing loyal subjects; other career aspirations are not educationally supported. I cannot stress enough how significant an achievement it is that the authors included in the sample were able to complete books in lieu of limited childhood educations. Perhaps additional second-generation books would exist if more sects provided the second-generation with appropriate instruction.

Educational experiences often entangled beneficial and limiting elements. In the Children of God/The Family, Jones, Jones, and Buhring (2007) clearly suffered from educational abuse. Parts of the educational materials within the sect were True Comix. According to Celeste, "many of them showed scenes of explicit sex, nudity, or gruesome demons and bizarre dreams that Mo [Berg] believed always had some meaning – they were God's messages" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 25). The intention with the sect's internal education system was to produce a "pure generation, unadulterated by the world, an improvement on the stock" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 138). The worst-off within the sect were the older second-generation members, since the sect had deprived them of education, instead sending them out busking and fundraising as children (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 139). Similar to her sisters, Kristina's schooling was informal, consisting of her stepfather, Joshua, insisting she memorize a quota of verses and complete sect workbooks before going to bed (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 191). The Jones sisters, therefore, allege that the Children of God/The Family intentionally withheld adequate schooling.

The early Mormon Church also discouraged education, although the author did attend school when she was a young child.[80] Brigham Young preached, "If you school your children, there is great danger of their becoming blacklegs and horse thieves" (Young, 1876: 525). Perhaps his opposition to education was motivated by keeping members loyal to (and reliant on) Church leadership. Brigham Young "assure[d] his people that education is the bitterest foe to labor. If [parents] allow their children to be taught anything they will no longer be of any service" (Young, 1876: 525). Hypocritically, however, Brigham Young schooled his own children, with "one son [having] just graduated at West Point, another is a student at the Michigan University Law School, and a third has just entered Cornell University" (Young, 1876: 525). The formal speeches against education, however, inevitable effected career opportunities (and subsequent independence) of second-generation Mormons.

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[80] Similarly, Tompkins attended school, yet his father's attitude was that school fed Tompkins Puritanical notions regarding nudity, and Tompkins would require deprogramming by graduation (Tompkins, 1997: 11, 112).

Like the Jones sisters, Guest was a victim of educational abuse due to the lack of enforcement of any regimented form of schooling. In Pune, India, the Rajneesh commune did not have any formal educational program for children: "Bhagwan always insisted that sannyasin children should not be taught anything about his or her sannyasins' beliefs. [The children] were to discover the world for [them]selves" (Guest, 2004: 35). The Rajneeshees built a loose curriculum based on Bhagwan's teachings "to help foster and protect the spirit of the children" (Guest, 2004: 76). Only English and math became compulsory subjects over time – leadership deemed politics and history "useless subjects" (Guest, 2004: 98). The sannyasins taught the children nothing about the world around them, and surprisingly, nothing about Bhagwan (Guest, 2004: 104). The sect also did not enforce attendance at the Ranch school (Guest, 2004: 99), and adult members coached the children's responses for visits from school inspectors (Guest, 2004:

98). Fortunately, Guest was able to complete his schooling and catch up to his peers, since he left at age ten (2004: 2).

Hamilton-Byrne "felt stifled by the limited schoolwork [the children] were given" (1995: 157). She attended public school around age five, but believed it was only for a few months — at that age she could already read and write (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 7). Anne discouraged higher education, focusing instead of training the girls in ladylike pursuits (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 157). The on-site 'school' only had the resources to teach to the primary school level, and extended math (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 157). Auntie Helen taught spelling, writing, multiplication tables, basic French, and primary school geography (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 20-29). The children's weekend tutor, Leon Dawes, taught high school math, some chemistry, and German (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 29). Auntie Trish taught some Latin (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 29), singing, and speech (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 31).[81] The curriculum was eclectic — although it appears to have been unintentionally so. Somehow, the children learned to play the piano as well, evidenced by their annual attendance at the Dadenong Festival, from about 1980 onward (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 92-93). Hamilton-Byrne, therefore, avoided extensive educational abuse, but did not have stability or consistency in her schooling.

When inspectors came to visit (post-1984), the children lied about the subjects they were learning (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 97). Leon and Auntie Helen brought their biological children's posters from home to pass off as the Hamilton-Byrne's children's posters (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 97). The author completed Year 11 by correspondence (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 158).[82] The author firmly pointed out, however, that she "cannot agree with cult members when they say we had a superior education, a claim that they have made and continue to make as justification for the entire nature of our upbringing" (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 158). The inconsistencies in education suggest that Hamilton-Byrnes was also a second-generation victim of educational abuse.

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[81] Auntie Trish taught the speech lessons with English accents, as Anne thought English accents were superior to Australian ones (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 92).

Due to the importance of education in South Korean culture, Hong (1998) likely had the most positive experiences of second-generation members in the sample. She attended prestigious the Little Angels Art School which was a performing arts school owned by the Unification Church (Hong, 1998: 51). Although Hong's did not appear to overtly suffer educational abuse, her schooling stressed deference to authority, rote memorization, and minimal critical thought (Hong, 1998: 55-56). The Moons paid (grudgingly) for her to complete her high school education at a private girls school, Masters, to ensure her children and pregnancies remained secret, especially since she was still a teenager (Hong, 1998: 128). The Moons also sent her to college (New York University), because they thought her being educated would reflect well on them (Hong, 1998: 154). Hong, therefore, generally did not suffer from educational abuse, although the absence of developing critical thinking skills, combined with her feelings of indebtedness to the Moons initially ensured Hong's continuing membership.

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[82] Anne provided bogus medical information on why Sarah Hamilton-Byrne could not attend school, which kept her isolated in the sect compound without arousing suspicion from authorities (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 158).

Conclusions

The authors in the sample, therefore, largely present claims of child abuse that led to their defection from their respective sects. The autobiographies also indicated that not all types of abuse are necessary for defection. For example, Tompkins experienced the least amount of abuse in the sample (mild familial abuse, and ambiguous experiences of sexual and spiritual abuse). In contrast, the Jones sisters experienced every type of abuse I identified. Different experiences within the sample suggest specific group factors may be related to second-generation abuse, and subsequent defection. For example, the Jones sisters, Young, and Hamilton-Byrne experienced the most abuse overall. Interestingly, commonalities between their respective alternative religious groups (The Children of God/The Family, the early Mormon Church, and The Great White Brotherhood/The Family) include geographic isolation, social isolation, and strong involvement in group practices and beliefs. These three factors (in tandem) were not common for Masson, Hong, Guest, and Tompkins. Therefore, this sample indicates that second-generation members most likely to suffer abuse are members of alternative religious groups that are geographically and socially isolated, and that strongly socialize children in group practices and beliefs.[83]

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[83] The Amish provide an example of an alternative religious group that is geographically isolated, has strong participation from membership in group practices and beliefs, and is socially isolated. I argue, however, that the Amish do not provide complete social isolation, in that membership regularly interacts with 'outside' society for economic purposes. Additionally, the practice of 'Rumspringa', where teenagers are encouraged to explore 'outside' life for a year, demonstrates

These findings directly contrast Lilliston and Shepherd's claims that policy, custom, theology, and isolation *decrease* the likelihood of abuse (1994: 61).

The autobiographies, however, are from second-generation defectors' perspectives, and therefore, it is possible that their allegations of abuse are unfounded. The next chapter uses independent evidence to test the claims of abuse generated from this chapter. By testing whether the claims made in the autobiographies are accurate or not, I am diverging from grounded theory methodology, which assumes that the sources used to generate theory are credible. Testing the claims in the autobiographies, therefore, will contribute to generating a stronger theory on second-generation defection from alternative religious groups.

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that adult Amish members consciously choose to belong to the group, after fully experiencing the alternative (Shachtman: 2006). This increased (and encouraged) contact with outside society differentiates the Amish from other alternative religious groups whose members generally maintain a strict division from the outside world (Shachtman: 2006).

Chapter 5: Supporting Evidence

Introduction

Second-generation defectors' autobiographies contain multifaceted claims of abuses that contributed to their defections, but we cannot know about the accuracy of their claims unless we obtain independent verification. As outlined in Chapter 3's 'apostate debate,' 'cult' sympathetic researchers take the position that defectors' accounts are not trustworthy because they are exaggerated 'atrocity tales' of life within an alternative religious group that the anti-cult movement has manipulated. In contrast, scholars aligned with the 'anti-cult movement' argue that defectors' accounts are the most trustworthy, because defectors have no loyalty to an alternative religious group, nor are they any longer constrained by one. Therefore, they are more likely to provide truthful accounts of their experiences within a sect.

This chapter attempts to verify or disprove claims made by second-generation defectors in their autobiographies. I use academic and some media resources rich in second-generation interviews. Unlike Chapter 4, which organized factors relating to defection by category, this chapter organizes factors leading to defection by alternative religious group. I have chosen to divide this section by sect for ease of verifying the accuracy of claims made in each of the autobiographies.

I analyzed the material using the categories generated by the autobiographies outlined in Chapter 4. After gleaning examples from these additional sources, I compared each example with the claims made by the autobiographies. Below I describe evidence that either supports or refutes claims made in the autobiographies. Additionally, this chapter diverges from traditional grounded theory methodology. One limitation of grounded theory methodology is it assumes that sources are accurate. As the 'apostate debate' outlined, however, the accuracy of sources is a sensitive topic in the study of alternative religious groups. This chapter assesses the accuracy (and therefore credibility) of the claims made in the autobiographies. If the authors' claims are accurate, then the next appropriate research step is to continue with grounded theory methodology and generate an initial theory of second-generation defection from alternative religious groups.

The Children of God/The Family: Testing the Jones Sisters' Claims

As mentioned in the Introduction, the Children of God/The Family is (arguably) the most researched alternative religious group. As such, numerous sources exist that can add supporting or refuting evidence for the Jones sisters' allegations. First I provide an overview of the major sources on second-generation experiences within the Children of God/The Family. Then, I highlight the Jones sisters' allegations of child abuse within the group and examine these other sources for corroborating evidence. I conclude with a discussion about whether the Jones sisters' autobiography is likely to have portrayed accurately second-generation experiences within the Children of God/The Family. After I follow similar procedures regarding the accounts from the other groups that I discuss in this thesis, I will then be able to reflect upon the issue of the accuracy of at least several apostate accounts.

An Overview of Major Sources on Second-Generation Experiences in the Children of God/The Family

Jesus Freaks: A True Story of Murder and Madness on the Evangelical Edge (2007)

Don Lattin is "an award-winning journalist and one of [America's] leading reporters covering alternative and mainstream religious movements and figures in America" (2007: back cover). For twenty-five years, he served as the religion reporter for two San Francisco newspapers (Lattin, 2007: xvi). During the 1990s, Lattin began interviewing second-generation youth from a variety of alternative religious groups, including the Church of Scientology, the Unification Church, the Hare Krishnas, and the Children of God/The Family (2007: xix). Unlike the other main sources on the Children of God/The Family, Lattin's book is unique because he offeres a secular, non-academic perspective. Although he did provide some background on the group and its policies, Lattin focused directly on the life of Richard (Ricky/Davidito) Peter Rodriquez (2007: xix). Lattin's book, therefore, provides a 'snapshot' of one specific second-generation member, which in turn overlaps with general experiences of second-generation members. In general, Lattin empathized with second-generation members, referring to Rodriguez as "the reluctant martyr for an abused army of troubled souls — a lost generation that would return to haunt Karen Zerby and the rest of The Family" (2007: xx).

Life in the Family: An Oral History of the Children of God (2000)

James D. Chancellor defined the purpose of his book as "seek[ing] to understand this unusual spiritual and human adventure by exploring the members' private experiences" (2000: ix). To do so, Chancellor undertook "many months of field research" (2000: xv) and interviewed "hundreds of disciples" (2000: xv), across Latin American, Asia, and Europe (2000: xvii). Formally, Chancellor began his study in 1993, when he received an outgoing letter to academics from the Children of God/The Family, inviting them to study The Family as a new religious movement (2000: xvii). Chancellor responded, and the sect invited him to visit some members in Washington, D.C. in the fall of 1993. There, he met one of his key informants, Noah, a disciple within the group (2000: xvii). Noah introduced Chancellor to Peter Amsterdam and Maria, who are the current leadership in The Family (2000: xviii). Outside of Peter, Maria, and Father David (Berg), Chancellor concealed his subjects' identities by using various sect-style Biblical names to ensure confidentiality. Although the confidentiality is understandable at an ethical level, it complicates verifying accusations of abuse against specific members.

Chancellor acknowledged The Family's motives in opening themselves up to academic scrutiny: "Peter was particularly interested in the possibilities for *acceptance* (italics added) of The Family in the wider world of traditional Christianity" (2000: xviii). Leadership effectively gave Chancellor 'carte blanche' in terms of access to Family literature and audiotapes, as well as to colonies

(2000: xviii). The sect initially mailed MO Letters to Chancellor individually, than as formal volumes. The group usually reserves the range of the MO Letters that Chancellor received for internal membership (2000: xix).

As preparation, Chancellor undertook compiling a history of The Family (during 1995), conducting a literature review, and informally visiting group colonies (1994) (2000: xviii). On sabbatical leave, Chancellor visited over thirty homes for a week or more (2000: xviii). By the end of the study, Chancellor had interviewed twenty nationalities from over eighty counties, interacted with one thousand disciples, conducted two hundred formal interviews, and recorded over four hundred and fifty hours of audio tapes (2000: xix). Chancellor estimated he has interviewed 15% of adult membership. One minor discrepancy recorded is Chancellor claimed his interviews alternately represented over eighty countries, or over eighty-five countries (2000: xix; 159, n.2). In terms of financial support, Chancellor noted, "The Family provided no financial support" (2000: xix). In exchange, however, for being a guest in Family homes, he left a "small donation" [although he did not specify the amount] (2000: xix). Family members read portions of the book prior to publishing, although Chancellor claimed he maintained complete editorial control (2000: xix). In sum, Chancellor:

> Participated at virtually all levels of life in The Family including fund raising, provisioning of food, social ministries, street witnessing, café singing, prayer meetings, word studies, parties, fellowship, recreational activities, devotional meetings, and communion services (2000: xviii-xix).

In addition to interviewing adults, Chancellor also "interviewed scores of children and young teens, a few in small groups, but most in private sessions" (2000: 131). Later, he quantified the number of teens and young adults he interviewed as over one hundred (2000: 210). It remains unclear when Chancellor's study formally ended.

Life in the Family was published in 2000, with 1998 being the latest date provided in the Epilogue. Validity of the first few years of interview data[84] is questionable, as Chancellor discretely admitted, "the initial interviews for this study were with young people living in homes more geared to public relations" (2000: 219). Furthermore, he did not discuss controversial issues until "almost two years of [Chancellor's] learning the culture and slowly building friendships and a trust relationship before memories and experiences of such a personal and often painful nature began to emerge" (2000: 222).

Within the 'apostate debate,' Chancellor's focus on current membership, and close ties to the group align him with sympathetic researchers. Chancellor is a W.O. Carver Professor of World Religions and Christian Missions at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (2000: book cover). He currently works under Faculty for "Missions, Evangelism, and Church Growth."[85] Chancellor's religious background may explain his sympathies towards the Children of God/The Family.

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[84] It remains unclear which parts of the book were affected by The Family's PR strategy. Chancellor presented monologues from interviews without dates attached (2000).

[85] <http://www.sbts.edu/Academics/Faculty/Missions_Evangelism_and_Church_Growth.aspx>.

Book Review of Chancellor:

Although Kent (2004) recognized Chancellor's contribution to the Children of God literature, he was ultimately wary of Chancellor's theological background and resultant sympathies. Kent acknowledged how "Chancellor's personal faith perspective probably helped him gain unprecedented access to current Family members" (2004: 108), but that Chancellor's methodologies limited him from telling "the whole story" (Chancellor, 2000: xix, n.5 qtd. in Kent, 2004: 108). Lastly, Kent was critical of Chancellor's reliance on Family-only resources (Kent, 2004: 111). Kent concluded that Chancellor's "book will interest scholars" (2004: 108).

I am personally wary of Chancellor's objectivity. Chancellor viewed his subjects (whom he refers to as "informants" or "interpreters") as "naturally and effortlessly" responding to his questions (2000: xxi). Most notably, Chancellor consistently referred to David Berg as Father David (2000: 289). Perhaps Chancellor intended to represent how The Family referred to its leader, although there is also the possibility that Chancellor, due to his own religious background, was offering David Berg respect as a 'fellow religious leader.' Indeed, Chancellor admitted, "like the disciples, I speak the language of faith as an original tongue" (2000: xvii).

Additionally, Chancellor spoke of the Children of God/The Family as "One of the most remarkable religious movements of our era" (2000: ix), a claim the 'anti-cult' movement surely would reject. Chancellor appeared to romanticize the group, when he spoke of his research as an "unusual spiritual and human adventure" (2000: ix). The reservations, however, about Chancellor's study that I and others have about his book actually will make it an important potential source of verification. In essence, if a sympathizer to the group like Chancellor presents material that is similar to any of the Jones sisters' claims, then it heightens the likelihood of the sisters' accuracy.

The Children of God: The Inside Story (2000)

Deborah Davis, whose birth name was Linda Berg, was a unique member of the Children of God/The Family. She was the biological daughter of David Berg, but she represents first-generation membership, since she was a young adult during the sect's inception. I have chosen to include her autobiography as a secondary resource, because she still legitimately represented some second-generation experiences within the Children of God/The Family. Like the autobiographies, Davis cited her motives for writing as exposing the sect's 'true nature':

> Having been dominated for more than thirty years by the tyranny of religious hypocrisy and human weakness, I have made a choice to expose the sin of a family and of a man who have influenced tens of thousands of people in a very unrighteous and ungodly way (Davis with Davis, 1984: ix).

Davis explicitly pointed out that her book "is not meant to attack or hurt [family members and friends] but to share reality as [she has] seen it and lived through it" (1984: x). Davis feared that keeping the 'truth' from her children would lead them back into the sect; if she was telling her children her story, she might as well tell the rest of society who had been "seduced" by the Children of God/The Family (Davis with Davis, 1984: xi). I consider, therefore, Davis to be a strong source on the Children of God/The Family's early years, but she (like Chancellor) has a faith perspective that may have colored what or how she remembered issues and events. Williams (1998), Wangerin (1993), and Van Zandt (1991) are also significant academic sources on the Children of God/The Family. I provide only a brief overview of each, however, since they focused primarily on first-generation members' experiences.

Heaven's Harlots: My Fifteen Years as a Sacred Prostitute in the Children of God Cult (1998)

Miriam Williams's book is an autobiographical account of her many years as a first-generation member of the Children of God/The Family (1998: xiv). While in the group, she married twice and had five children (Williams, 1998: xiv). She left the group because she was fearful that "the weed of child abuse" would affect her children (Williams, 1998: xiv). Williams's book is a unique contribution from a first-generation converted member (unlike Davis, who was 'born into' first-generation membership). Due to the group's mobility and international communes, Williams had "learned three languages and had been in over twenty countries, but [. . .] had never had a chequing account, credit line, car, or home of [her] own" (1998: xiv). She claimed her motivations for writing included shedding light on why some youth join alternative religious groups, to explain her own difficulties coming to terms with a new post-group identity, and "to add awareness of cult involvement" and its implications for the second-generation (Williams, 1998: xv). At the time of publication, she was pursuing a master's degree in sociology (Williams, 1998: xiii).

The Children of God: A Make-Believe Revolution? (1993)

Ruth Wangerin's most intensive fieldwork occurred between 1975-1976 (1993: 2). Wangerin studied the Children of God throughout the United States, Italy, and Mexico, between 1974-1977, with the book covering the years 1973-1978 (1993: 2). Wangerin's intentions for writing the book are unclear. Wangerin approached the group from a political perspective, investigating how the Children of God interacted with the System (1993: 2).[86] Wangerin's methods remain largely unclear; perhaps this lack of clarity is attributable to the book serving as an expansion on her doctoral thesis, in which (I would assume), she likely presented her methodology. Her methods, therefore, must be gleaned from within the text. For example, Wangerin wrote how "ten out of the twenty [she] surveyed on Staten Island described themselves as having been "liberal" or "anti-war" before joining COG' (1993: 69). Thus I assume that Wangerin relied on interviews as a primary data source, although the amount she conducted, or even how she conducted them, remains unclear. Wangerin often cited "Sarah," who was one of the group's first converts, as a knowledgeable source about group history, as well as American disciples "Gyspy" and "Sam" (1993: ix). The only other 'data point' Wangerin overtly mentioned was "collecting systematic data on the backgrounds of disciples [. . .] from a sample of 20 disciples (all of the teens and adult residents) in a colony in Staten Island, New York, in spring 1976" (1993: 88).

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[86] System — refers to "the social system outside of COG, and all its institutions, such as the church, family, schools, government, and economic institutions" (ie. "I used to have a System job"). Children of God believed they had "dropped out" of the System (Wangerin, 1993: 188).

Ruth Wangerin is based out of New York, and previously "taught anthropology at Queens College and the City University of New York" (1993: book cover). Wangerin is also affiliated with the sociology department of Tehran University in Iran (1993: book cover), although it is unclear in what respect. Funding for the study is also unclear (whether it be through a granting agency or out-of-pocket expense), as well as whether Wangerin contributed financially to the Children of God/The Family. I could not locate additional publications of Wangerin. Wangerin provided an interesting 'non-religious' perspective on the group, which makes her data (arguably) the most objective in describing life within the group, and sets her apart from the 'apostate debate' motivations.

Living in the Children of God (1991)

David E. Van Zandt's initial approach to the Children of God/The Family was very different than Chancellor's, in that his initial research was unsanctioned — he used deception to 'join' the group as a member (1991: 4). The intent of his study was to "try to view the COG from the perspective of the average member living within the cult" (1991: 4). Originally, Van Zandt's initial exposure to the Children of God was similar to that of a general member of the public — he was 'litnessed' to in New York, in December 1974. Van Zandt clearly stated his hypothesis:

> my working hypothesis is that social interaction is thoroughly socially structured: religious practice and belief, as are any social activities, are products of sets of socially given rules of interpretation and practice employed by members in everyday life (1991: 8)

Van Zandt completed his research in two phases: from May 15-June 5, 1976 as an 'undercover' colony member in Bradford, England (1991: 10); and from June 24, 1977 for two months of approved observation of a colony in Arnhem, Holland (1991: 10). Additionally, Van Zandt also visited colonies in the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Italy, and Germany during 1977 (1991: 10). Van Zandt's history of the Children of God, however, was not written up until 1982 (1991: 55), and the Postscript was not written until January 1991 (1991: 166). The large amount of time in between publication and observation does raise questions about the accuracy of the data. For example, did he take accurate fieldnotes, or was Van Zandt also relying partially on memory?

Van Zandt's study was unique in that he was self-reflexive on his mediated identity, acknowledging the group "had no category for an extremely interested nonbeliever" (1991; 12). Moreover, Van Zandt was forthcoming about negative aspects of his position of researcher. He wrote how his friendship with members was artificial, since he found their "bubbling enthusiasm naïve and unattractive" (Van Zandt, 1991: 13, n.14). Additionally, Van Zandt found participating in litnessing difficult, as he was "embarrassed to be associated with religious ideas [he himself] found unacceptable" (1991: 14). Van Zandt also admitted to his incoming biases, confessing he viewed the Children of God/The Family as "a highly authoritarian and ideological group in which the notion of individualism was attenuated" (1991: 173). Furthermore, in addition to conversion, Van Zandt feared the group would hold him against his will. Van Zandt was very honest about how his perceptions may have influence his research findings.

Currently, David E. Van Zandt is the Dean/Professor of Law at Northwestern University of Law. Outside of the Children of God, his recent publications include Competition Law and Policy in Flux: The Developing Country Experience, (2006) and Building the Student Culture, (2006).[87] Van Zandt provided a balance to the American-based sources on the group, especially considering the Jones sisters were originally from England, where Van Zandt's research originated. Van Zandt's work, however, focused on first-generation experiences, but provided a solid academic source on group practices and doctrines.

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[87] <http://www.law.northwestern.edu/faculty/fulltime/vanzanda/vanzanda.html>.

Assessing the Jones Sisters' Allegations Against The Children of God/The Family

Like the Jones sisters, Davis was clear that life within the sect was enjoyable at times. These positive ties to the group help explain why the Jones sisters remained in the sect for as long as they did. For Davis, the first protest days against traditional churches were "really great fun," akin to "playing a role in a movie" (1984: 74). For a child, travelling from city to city in a caravan or 'family' "packed a lifetime of excitement into a few short months" (Davis with Davis, 1984: 74). Although the Jones sisters did not participate in this early trekking, their experiences were similar to Davis's to the extent that they felt a certain amount of novelty and adventure living in many sect colonies across the world.

Davis also supports the Jones sisters' argument that remaining in the sect is tied to faith in the sect's religious beliefs. Davis wrote how even though her "marriage had been virtually destroyed, traditional Christian principles obliterated, and all ties with outside relatives severed [. . .] The Cause!" remained (1984: 7). Davis admitted to "buckling under to fear," knowing consciously she had violated her personal moral code, justified through "religious reasoning [. . .] and the good work [the sect] was doing" (1984: 233). Leaving then would have involved implicating herself for negative actions against others that she had undertaken during her membership. Davis's experiences reflected the Jones sisters' experiences that continuing to live within the sect, in many ways, is 'easier' than choosing defection.

Physical Abuse Allegations

Much supporting evidence corroborates the Jones sisters' accusations that physical abuse occurred in the Children of God/The Family. For example, Grace, a disciple in Wangerin's study, noted "even a tiny baby could learn discipline; it could learn to pull back its hand if slapped" (1998: 136). Although it is possible that the intention of Grace's comments are to keep babies safe from harm (for example, slapping their hands if they are reaching towards hot stoves), another possibility is that sect members held a cavalier attitude towards physical discipline, which supports the Jones sisters' allegations. As such, physical discipline quickly slides into physical abuse. Similar to sexual abuse, the frequency and level of physical abuse is difficult to determine (Lilliston, 1997: 65). Research focusing specifically on physical abuse within the sect, however, remains rare, perhaps due to researchers' hesitancies in broaching the subject. For example, Wangerin's ethnography "didn't ask directly, and only a few people volunteered the information" on beating or abusing youth (1993: 113, n.24).

Beatings

The Jones sisters were very clear in their allegations that physical abuse, justified as a disciplinary technique, was commonplace. One practice for disciplining teens, that Juliana Jones claimed to have experienced, was the Victor programs. The Children of God/The Family set up Victor Camps to strengthen second-generation ties to the sect, through harsh discipline and thought reforming practices, often enforced through physical abuse (Chancellor, 2000: 27-28; Kent and Hall, 2000; Van Zandt, 1991: 26, 53-54, 170-171; Williams, 1998: 220-221). Chancellor noted that in teen Victor Programs, "harsh and abusive treatment of young people" was commonplace (2000: 23). Chancellor failed to follow up these claims through his interviews, however, or especially through members who have left the group because of abuse.

Specifically with the teen camps, it is difficult to determine how many Children of God/The Family youth participated, or the amount of time spent in them (Kent, 2000: 57). Merry Berg estimated that her Macao camp held about fifteen teens, for periods ranging from a couple of months to two years (Kent Interview with Merry Berg, 1992: 5, qtd. in Kent, 2000: 66). The largest teen Victor camp, "Jumbo" in the Philippines, had between "two hundred and three hundred and fifty people living there from early 1988 to early 1989 (Kent Interview with Donovan, 1995: 1-2; Kent Interview with Hendricks, 1995: 18, qtd. in Kent, 2000: 69). The fact that academic literature verifies the existence of Victor Camps in the Philippines, supports Juliana Jones's allegations that she spent time in a Victor Program in that country (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 146). Juliana Buhring did not specify, however, the duration of her time in the program. Within the literature, the amount of time that the program ran is inconsistent, with reports saying it operated for eighteen months in 1989-1990 (Ward: 1995 qtd. in Kent, 2000: 65) up to three years (Millikan: 1994, qtd. in Kent, 2000: 65).

The most documented physical abuse within the Children of God/The Family occurred within the group's Teen Victor Programs. The term "Victor" signified victory over the personal problems of faith with which the teens were coping (Shepherd and Lilliston, 1994: 63). Teens attended Victor Camps for "disobeying [MO Letters] in some way" (Williams, 1998: 198). Teen camps and programs supposedly were a way for the group to rekindle the faith of the second-generation, which likely were not as emotionally committed to the group as their parents (Kent, 2000: 57). Punishments for second-generation members sent to a Victor Camp included verbal lashings and spankings, public confession of sins, sleep deprivation, exorcisms, and isolation from sympathetic peers (Williams, 1998: 198-199). Victor Programs also included suspending regular academic work, replaced instead with studies of MO Letters and the Bible (Chancellor, 2000: 235).

Other second-generation members have spoken out about the abuse they suffered while in the teen camps. Although the Jones sisters do not clearly document the physical abuse that they specifically suffered in the teen camps, the ability of researchers to demonstrate that other second-generation members of the sect were physically abused in them lends credence to the Jones sisters' claims. For example, leadership sent Dawn, age twenty, to a Teen Training Center (TTC) in Mexico at age thirteen, where she witnessed an adult leader yelling at a nine-year-old girl for daydreaming. She was put on silent treatment with a diaper over her mouth, and sent to clean cobblestones in the heat (Chancellor, 2000: 237). Operating on a demerit system, home leaders forced teens receiving three or more demerits to clean "nine garbage cans full of dirty diapers" daily (Kent Interview with Donovan, 1995: 7, 10 qtd. in Kent, 2000: 70). The use of diapers in punishment supports Juliana Jones' claim that leadership punished her by having her sit in a tub of dirty diapers (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 146).

During the British Isles (BI) custody case,[88] one second-generation disciple [MS] reported being beaten so severely with a stick in the Victor program in Ruby, England, that her "buttocks were cut and her knickers were covered with blood" (Ward, 1995: 191). Williams's husband, Paolo, took her son, Thor, into the woods and whipped him with a stick, because of "the discipline that was being taught to all parents" (1998: 204). The abuse suffered by MS and Thor support Juliana Jones's allegations about suffering beatings with the White Stick (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 141).

Teen programs also used harsh spankings, with leadership administering spankings pants down, publicly, and with the use of a paddle (Kent, 2000: 67; 68-69). Kent (2000: 72-74) reviewed the horrifying story of Sam, whose disciplining the local leaders held up as an example for leadership from the Brazil camps. Local leaders inflicted a severe spanking and beating of the boy in front of his fellow teens. Likewise, Davida, a second-generation member of Berg's inner elite circle, the Unit, spent time in Victor Camps in Japan and Brazil. In Japan, leadership publicly spanked Davida "in front of fifty kids" for taking a banana out of the refrigerator without first asking permission (Lattin, 2007: 89). Jeremiah, another second-generation member, also remembered spankings inflicted on others with a paddle (Chancellor, 2000: 238-239). Spankings are the most frequently cited form of physical abuse in the Jones sisters' autobiography. Juliana Buhring is clear that daily spankings for her were commonplace (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 115-116, 128). These examples support the Jones sisters' allegations of public spankings (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 141-142).

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[88] I remind readers that the BI case involved a grandmother suing the Children of God/The Family for custody of her grandson (her daughter was a member). Ultimately, the court ruled in favor of the mother retaining custody of her son, but the final judgment harshly criticized the group's previous practices, such as its child sexual abuse (Ward: 1995).

Punishment at one Victor Camp also included physical labor punishment, such as clearing brush (Lattin, 2007: 91). Another example of 'punishment' included placing teens on "silence restriction for bad behavior" (Chancellor, 2000: 219). Lord Justice Ward found that silence restriction was "'frequently carried to excess'" and that children were "'damaged by their experience of it'" (qtd in Freckelton, 1998: 20). Leadership also sent Jeremiah, age seventeen, to the TTC (Chancellor, 2000: 238). He spent forty-five days on "get out restriction (physical isolation)," seven months on "silent restriction," and participated in manual labor for long hours, such as digging ditches (Chancellor, 2000: 238-239). Jeremiah's experiences, Chancellor's interviews, and the BI case all support Juliana Buhring's claims that leadership punished her as well through silence restriction (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 141).

Berg's inner-circle of children were not excluded from the horrors of the TTCs. Berg sent his granddaughter, Merry, to a TTC in Macao, where "for three and one half years, [she] endured sexual and physical assaults, hard labor, constant humiliations, and obligatory study of her grandfather's teachings until a nervous breakdown landed her in a mental institution" (Kent, 2004: 63-64). Merry additionally suffered through "at least five exorcisms" due to her reputed pride (Kent Interview with Merry Berg, 1992: 67 qtd. in Kent, 2000: 65). Merry also suffered though six-months of isolation, in which leaders locked her in a room, at times forcing her to relieve herself in a bucket of disinfectant (Kent Interview with Merry Berg, 1992: 80, qtd. in Kent, 2000: 67). Leaders slapped her for any critical thoughts, which only stopped if she agreed with sect dogma (Kent Interview with Merry Berg, 1992: 17, n.3, qtd in Kent, 2000: 67). Lord Justice Ward found the Macau camp a "disgraceful experiment in childcare" with the children "subjected to a regime of physical and psychological brutality"(1995: 157-158). The teen's biological parents did not have access to their children after completion of TTCs, since many of the youth were "sent directly to new Homes to begin their adult proselytizing efforts for the Family" (Van Zandt, 1991: 172).

In contrast to second-generation interviews that provide information seeming to support the Jones sisters' allegations of beatings, sympathetic academics appear to ignore evidence of this kind. Instead, their research supports the group's claims that these teen programs were a positive support system for the second-generation. For example, sociologist Susan Palmer's description of the TTCs is startlingly naïve, since she portrayed them as an opportunity for the youth to:

> forge strong ties with their peers, make friends with the opposite sex and participate in an intense, supervised regime involving Bible study, hard manual labor in the areas of renovations and gardening, and witnessing expeditions with singing and dance, under the guidance of Shepherds and Shepherdesses (1994: 7).

Publication of the Palmer article occurred long after Merry Berg's interview citing the abuse she suffered during her time in the TTC, and Palmer did not explain what she meant by "hard manual labor." Additionally, it is likely that a Media home influenced Palmer, since she only spent one week interviewing various disciples (1994: 2). Lilliston and Shepherd, who are other sympathetic researchers, refer to the TTCs as "special youth centers" intended for spiritual "retraining and strengthening" (1994: 63). For the second-generation members (like the Jones sisters) who have suffered intense physical abuse at the TTCs, academics who are sympathetic to the sect simply are irresponsible in reporting their data as factual.

Physical punishment was not restricted to the teen programs. Celeste Jones claimed that one of the leaders, Paul, regularly beat her (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 49-50). Again, other interviews with second-generation members reveal Celeste's experiences were not isolated, lending support that she was telling the truth. Even according to (generally group-sympathetic) Chancellor, discipline of youth in The Family "was harsh and extreme" (Chancellor, 2000: 233). Another second-generation member, Cassandra, remained bitter about uncles simply "beat[ing] on a kid," including her sisters, when they got upset (Chancellor, 2000: 233-234).[89]

MO Letters certainly encouraged physical discipline. "Lashes of Love" encouraged harsh spankings:

> I used to tell Mom that the time to stop spanking is not when they're screaming, it's when they stop screaming and beg for mercy! I usually used a fly swatter [...] only I used the handle end, and it does sting, I'll tell you! Sometimes it leaves little red lines too, stripes, but by their stripes they are healed! (Berg, 1975: page 4687).

Most disciples interviewed by Wangerin admitted to spanking the children in their care (1993: 137), although the harshness of these acts is difficult to ascertain. If disciples were following the advice of MO Letters like "Lashes of Love," then physical force would have been brutal. Williams noted, "even though corporal punishment was condoned in The Family, we were supposed to talk to the children first, and let them know how they would be punished" (1998: 196-197). Although the group presented abuses as rational and fair treatment, my assumption was that being 'warned' of upcoming abuse simply made spankings more frightening. Lilliston incorrectly claimed, "the disciplinary code of The Family allows for corporal punishment, but it is not common and is not used as a threat" (1997: 72). Berg, however, encouraged spankings and beatings to drive out the devil, which caused the disobedience and harsh discipline of "rotten apples" (Kent, 2004: 61). During the BI case, Lord Justice Ward concluded, "that there were many occasions when the beatings were more severe than was necessary" (1995: 182).

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[89] Although the Jones sisters did not write about using childcare duties as punishment, other second-generation members reported this unique form of punishment. For example, Casa, age twelve, recalled hating her childcare assignment, which involved caring for "six kids full-time, twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week" (Chancellor, 2000: 220). Child-care duty granted to wayward teens raises questions concerning the quality of care received by younger second-generation members.

Typical of sect functioning, members of the Children of God/The Family did not involve authorities in investigations of abuse, which the group handled internally. For example, Cassandra knew that physically abusive uncles "are still in The Family" (Chancellor, 2000: 233-234). One major frustration for the Jones sisters also was that their abusers remained in the sect, unpunished.

Living Conditions

The Jones sister's autobiography noted that food was minimal, and at times they lived in poverty in sect colonies (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 61). I included this section on living conditions, because there are contradictory reports within the Children of God/The Family literature. According to Davis, The Texas Soul Clinic, which was the ranch where the Children of God/The Family stayed in its start-up period, contained poor living conditions, which suggests that from the group's inception, healthy living conditions were not priorities for Berg (1984: 80). Davis stated that the Texas Soul Clinic "resembled a broken-down ghost town — a resort for scorpions and tumbleweed. Nothing worked. There was no electricity or water" (1984: 80).

Since living conditions did not appear to be a priority for the sect from the start, it is not surprising that some second-generation members allege the communes fared no better. For example, Abner recalled living in the Bangladesh colony, which had "no electricity, bad water, [and] disease" (Chancellor, 2000: 156). Subsequently, due to the poor living conditions, the "kids got sick a lot" (Chancellor, 2000: 156). Williams (1998) wrote how the babies had no cribs, and were sleeping on a concrete floor. In contrast, Lilliston disagreed, claiming, "the homes are clean and well maintained" (1997: 70). Lilliston, however, only spent a maximum of one week in any home, and he studied homes in the United States. Once again, the Jones sisters' allegation that living conditions were sub-standard appears to be supported through outside evidence.

Additional Physical and Medical Abuse

The Jones sisters made allegations concerning inadequate if not non-existent medical care, and information from additional sources reinforces the claim that The Children of God/The Family medically abused its second-generation members. Davis alluded to thinking she was the healthiest she had ever been after leaving her father and the rest of the Royal Family (1984: 134). As an extreme example, Chancellor interviewed a mother whose baby died within the group, as her husband's jealous second wife suggested the baby was sick as punishment for her religious shortcomings (2000: 92-93). Instead, leadership advocated prayer, and when prayer failed, she drove the infant to a 'poor' hospital, even though the 'rich' hospital was closer (2000: 92-93). This example reflects the Jones sisters' allegations concerning group attitudes that continued sickness was a result of not praying hard enough (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 197).

According to Van Zandt, the sect believed that the cause of illness is God testing a new member's faith (Van Zandt, 1991: 142). The member's individual failings and/or possession by the Devil or other evil spirits are responsible for their children's illnesses (Van Zandt, 1991: 142). Similarly, adults taught the Jones sisters that if they were sick, then they were at fault with God (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 119). In another example, leaders asserted that the cause of a four-month-old's meningitis was The Lord's punishment of the mother for an un-confessed sin, in addition to rebelliousness towards her husband (Williams, 1998: 225). The sect, therefore, simply appeared to ignore medical knowledge of transmission of viral or bacterial infections, teaching members that they deserved their illnesses. These examples support Kristina Jones's allegations that adults taught her that sickness was a sign of sin (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 197).

Berg also opposed childhood inoculations, due to his sister having a "bad experience" during her polio inoculation (Chancellor, 2000: 207, n. 2; see Whitsett & Kent, 2003: 498). Sect parents rarely inoculated the second-generation from common childhood diseases. Due to their parents' devotion to Berg's philosophies, children were potentially suffering from results of childhood infections. For example, Williams's children "all went through the childhood diseases that most children were vaccinated against, such as measles, chicken pox, and whopping cough" (1998: 195). Children additionally did not receive medical or dental checkups (Kent, 2000: 21, 32-33). The Jones sisters also allege that they received no immunizations (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 120).[90]

Conclusions on Allegations of Physical Abuse

Enough instances of independently reported abuses exist to acknowledge that the second generation grew up in physically and medically abusive environments. These allegations of physical abuse corroborate the Jones sisters' allegations of about such practices. The only unverifiable claim made by the Jones sisters about physical abuse is that, at times, the group imposed fasting (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 47).

Sexual Abuse Allegations:

Researchers have focused the most on allegations of sexual abuse against the Children of God/The Family. Similar to physical and medical abuses, sexual abuse allegations (critics argue) permeate the sect's faith system, and therefore perpetrators cannot be dismissed as a 'few bad apples.' The Jones sisters' autobiography clearly alleges frequent sexual abuses, across time, and across a variety of sect communes.

According to the Jones sisters, Berg's 'Law of Love' equated God with love, and love with sex. Therefore, the sect equated God with sex (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: ix). Similarly, Chancellor described the "Law of Love" as both sex and a gift from God, and subsequently group members did not limit its expression to marriage (2000: x).

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[90] Sect avoidance of hospital births also put the second-generation at increased risk of infections or even death. Birth was often in the home, although according to Lilliston "a licensed midwife" assisted (1997: 81).

Sex became a large part of sect activity, although the group allegedly ended child sex practices by the mid-1980s (Chancellor, 2000: 19). Additionally, sex with minors was punishable by excommunication (Chancellor, 2000: 21). Chancellor, however, documented how "nudity and open sexuality became common features of life" (2000: 17).

Unlike Chancellor, who is largely dismissive of allegations that the Children of God/The Family engaged in harmful sexual activities with children, Van Zandt wrote:

> the MO Letters increasingly advocated more sexual freedom within the group. They have recounted Moses David's copulation with spirits and with many women members, as well as his early childhood sexual activity, which he regards as normal, healthy, and positive for all children (1991: 26).

The MO Letters, therefore, endorse nearly all sexual practices as normative.

Although child sexual activity within the group was apparently declining in the 1980s, "My Little Fish" (1979) "is a series of photographs of naked young children (some alone, some together, and some with naked adults) interspersed with quotations from earlier MO Letters on sex" (Van Zandt, 1991: 170, n.17).

More specifically, "My Little Fish" contained "photographs of an adult woman orally copulating and manually manipulating a boy who was just over three years old" (Kent, 1994: 167). Berg appeared to intend that parents were to use "My Little Fish" as a resource for introducing children to sexual experiences (Van Zandt, 1991: 170). The Jones sisters did not specifically mention "My Little Fish," but they did stress that members viewed all MO Letters as divinely inspired treaties for members to obey unquestioningly.

Adult members encouraged children to express themselves sexually at an early age, facilitated by parents, childcare workers, and other adults (Van Zandt, 1991: 53). By April 1980, Berg encouraged children to marry as they reached physical maturation, since "he thought it cruel to deny [the children] the satisfaction of their normal desire to procreate" (Van Zandt, 1991: 53). Child sexual activity remained normative in the Children of God for years, since Berg opined "that neither incest nor sex with capable children was prohibited by God and that there should be no age or relationship limitation on sexual activity" (Van Zandt, 1991: 54). According to Lattin (2007: xv), Berg preached:

> God didn't count [children] as under age to have sexual feelings and sexual responses and sexual nerves and sexual orgasms from the time they're born, the System prohibits them from having them until they're eighteen to twenty-one years of age! (Berg, 1980: 7697).

These examples support Celeste Jones's claim that she was highly sexed by five or six years old (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 30). Kristina Jones also alleged that due to the sect's doctrines, she was sexually active at an early age (Jones, Jones, and Buhring: 2007: 159).

According to Lattin, children "were encouraged to watch their parents make love and try it themselves" (2007: 73). Lattin's statement supports the Jones sisters' allegations that adult members encouraged them to imitate thier sexual behavior, which the sect facilitated by pairing children on dates with one another (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 65, 128, 135). Another corroborating example occurred when leadership paired Davida, the daughter of Rodriguez's nanny, Sara, with Rodriguez when she was only a year, and he, only two-and-a-half (Lattin, 2007: 73). Adults encouraged them to simulate the sex acts of the adults around them, and joked about how much Rodriguez enjoyed it (Lattin, 2007: 73). By age three, Rodriguez fantasized about Playboy pullouts, and was simulating sexual acts between his stuffed animals (Lattin, 2007: 77). Sara and her husband, Alfred, regularly included Rodriguez in their sexual relationship, and the young Rodriguez became jealous and possessive of her (Lattin, 2007: 73). At twelve, Berg paired Rodriguez, with his granddaughter Merry, aged fourteen, for the purposed of carrying on Berg's line (Lattin, 2007: 84).[91] Another example of sexual abuse of the second-generation occurred with Williams's son, Thor, — who, while playing with other children in the colonies — "had been encouraged to explore each other's bodies" (Williams, 1998: 221). Thor recalled the time as an unhappy one (Williams, 1998: 221).

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[91] Merry Berg also suffered from intense physical and sexual abuse. As Berg's granddaughter, however, she constitutes a third generation member, therefore I do not cover her experiences in detail in this section. For further information, please see Lattin (2007), Chapter 7, and Kent (2005).

As an adult defector, Davida recalled Berg sexually fondling her and performing oral sex on her as a child (Lattin, 2007: 78, 89). She supported the allegations that adults encouraged the children to be sexually active (Lattin, 2007: 78). Refusing sexual advances was not an option, since "everything [Berg] did was done in the name of Jesus and, therefore, it could not be wrong" (qtd in Lattin, 2007: 79). Davida's experiences also support that adults told the Jones sisters that denying sexual advances was the work of the Devil (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 31, 66).

The Children of God/Family openly promoted sexuality: "[Father David] offered specific instructions regarding the positive value of nudity and frequent sexual sharing" (Chancellor, 2000: 105). For example, the MO Letter "The Devil Hates Sex! But God Loves It!" proclaimed, "But as far as God's now concerned, there are no more sexual prohibitions hardly of any kind" (Berg, 1980: 7698). Additionally, parents who "have regressed to childlike dependency upon unassailable leaders, sometimes turn toward children as sexual outlets because they are less emotionally threatening than peers" (Whitsett & Kent, 2003: 496). Parents, ultimately responsible for raising their children, invested in the MO Letters as ultimate truth. MO Letters dictated to parents the virtues of raising their children in sexually charged environments. This evidence supports the Jones sisters' claims that MO Letters encouraged sexual contact between adults and children (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: xiv).

What appears to be Berg's sexual obsessions emerged during the sect's foundational period. Davis recalled her father making sexual advances to her at ages seven and twelve (1984: 9). On September 21, 1972, Berg held a coronation for Davis, crowning her Queen at twenty-six (Davis with Davis, 1984: 4, n.2). A few days later, Berg approached her for sex, justifying it as her proving her loyalty to God and the King [him] (Davis with Davis, 1984: 9; Wangerin, 1993: 27-28). Berg formally demoted Davis from Queen, deemed Davis selfish, rebellious, and "unspiritual" for denying his advances (Davis with Davis, 1984: 12, 100). Berg replaced her with her younger sister, Faithy, whom Berg (according to Davis) had been sexually abusing since childhood (Davis with Davis, 1984: 12). Davis's demotion was a key incident in her defection from the sect (Davis with Davis, 1984: 130-132). A second key incident in Davis's defection was the "All Things" doctrine from Berg, encouraging incest (Davis with Davis, 1984: 99-100, 193).[92] Davis's own confession of incest corroborates the Jones sisters' allegations that Berg was incestuously active with both his children and grandchildren (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: ix).

At times, the sect overtly encouraged child sexualization. Heaven's Girl was a fictional, apocalyptic book published by World Services in the mid-1980s, in which the heroine is portrayed as approximately 13 to 15-years-old (Chancellor, 2000: 132). In the book, Heaven's Girl flirty fishes[93] a government official to free him from the 'Beast' and help the Family defeat the Antichrist (Chancellor, 2000: 132). The Jones sisters do cite the Heaven's Girl story in their autobiography (2007: 229). With flirty fishing, it remains unclear whether minors were involved. For example, the group declared children adults at the age of 12; Flirty Fishing, then, would appear to have been performed by minors as well, since the group would have considered them adults, and thus capable of participating in group adult activity. Noah, who was a disciple in Chancellor's study, claimed it did not happen (2000: 131-132). One must be wary, however, of disciples interviewed in Chancellor's study, as all were current — and therefore loyal — members of the sect. Flirty fishing, however, did affect some second-generation members directly. For example, Kristi claims that one particular 'fish' her mother brought home "would lay [her] on the back couch and molest and rape [her]" (Lattin, 2007: 134). The Jones sisters, interestingly, did not mention if flirty fishing directly affected them, even though Berg presented Heaven's Girl as the role model for girls growing up in the sect.[94]

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[92] Berg's babysitter allegedly "used to suck [him] to sleep for [his] nap every afternoon," and he was "extremely close" to his mother, Virginia Berg, including admitting sexual feelings towards her (Lattin, 2007: 16-18).

[93] FF-ing (flirty fishing) refers to the sect practice of female members using sex to recruit new male members. Four to five 'bait' women would visit a bar, accompanied by one or two sect 'flirty

Williams was uncomfortable with her daughters' exposure to sexuality, yet "everyone [she] talked to convinced [her] that [she] was taking [the Heaven's Girl publication] too seriously" (1998: 231). Gloria, a disciple in Chancellor's study, reminisced about being eight-years-old with her sect friends, and them

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fisherman.' The 'bait' then approached various 'fish,' danced close, and did not turn down any sexual advances. If the 'fish' appeared receptive, the sect members invited him to sit with them, where he was told about God's love, and given sexually explicit MO Letters (Van Zandt, 1991: 48; Wangerin, 1993: 49).

[94] The sect removed Heaven's Girl from publication in 1987, as a reaction to outside allegations of child abuse (Chancellor, 2000: 132).

wanting to change their names to Maria (the name of Heaven's Girl), and wanting to be like her (Chancellor, 2000: 216).

The Davidito book explicitly outlined the sexual abuse of Berg and Maria's toddler son, Davidito. The Story of Davidito recalled Davidito "watch[ing] adults having sex, and as a two year old [having] simulated sex with his care worker. There were references to her playing with him and kissing his penis" (Sari, qtd. in Chancellor, 2000: 141). The book also contains images of Davidito sucking on the breast of an adult woman (Williams, 1998: 274). The Davidito letters encouraged adult-child sex, and encouraged children to "do whatever they want" (Davis with Davis, 1984: 204).

Children of God/The Family homes held up the Davidito book as the example of how to raise a child with love. Davidito, whose legal name was Ricky Rodriquez, later murdered his childhood nanny and committed suicide, after leaving behind a video "discussing his rage over his sexual upbringing" (Goldstein: 2005, qtd. in Kent, 2005: 124; Raine: 2005). In his suicide video, Rodriguez alleged sexual abuse perpetrated by his mother, Maria: "How can you do that to kids? How can you do that to kids and sleep at night?" (qtd. in Lattin, 2007: 7). Davida supported Rodriguez's allegations that his mother sexually assaulted him, recalling one occasion after his twelfth birthday when she witnessed "his mother having sexual intercourse with him while [she] was getting molested by [Berg] in the same bed" (qtd. in Lattin, 2007: 90). Rodriguez's video was a call to arms for other second-generation members to speak out against their childhood abuses, as well as frustration against other second-generation critics who refused to take action against the sect (Lattin, 2007: 8). Perhaps due to the influence of The Story of Davidito, "sexual stimulation of younger children was acceptable and common, through the manipulation of genitalia by adults, as a means of socializing the children into the bodily manifestation of God's Law of Love" (Lilliston, 1997: 61). Celeste Jones wrote how Davidito's suicide motivated her to do an interview with ABC News to support his allegations against the group (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 359). She explained how she wanted the public to know that he was telling the truth (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 359).

Berg additionally requested that women and girls record and send him nude videos of them dancing (Van Zandt, 1991: 55). The sect referred to these striptease videos as "heavenly houris" dances, where leadership instructed the females to dance "as if [they] were making love to [Berg] or the Lord" (Berg, 1982: 7918). The Jones sisters also report the MO Letters called "Glorify God in the Dance" and "Nudes can be Beautiful" influenced them (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 28). Celeste Jones admitted to performing strip teases on tape for Berg (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 29). Another second-generation member, Davida, recalled at age five performing one of these topless dances for Berg, which later became a photo in The Story of Davidito of "Dancing Davida, the Hawaiian Hula Honey" (Lattin, 2007: 79). Additionally, Berg requested nude photos — "nudie cuties" — of women and girls (Van Zandt, 1991: 170, n.8). Lord Justice Ward found the videos "corrupting" and "part of grooming children for sexual exploitation by adults" (1995: 60). Clearly, strip teases and nude pictorials for Berg occurred, just as the Jones sisters claim.

The sect taught the children "never to reveal their sexual play with outsiders" (Lattin, 2007: 74). The Jones sisters as well recalled adults teaching them not to disclose their sexual activity to Systemites (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 30). Chancellor, however, failed to criticize leadership for its failure to report abuses to authorities, choosing to deal with abuse internally through World Services. Interestingly, the sect appeared to blame the victim, as demonstrated by Maria's open letter "Liberty or Stumblingblock," which she argued, "they can always say 'No!'" (Chancellor, 2000: 20). MO Letters further indirectly blamed the victim, such as "Flirty Little Teens, Beware!" (Maria, 1992: 226-235).

Berg's views on child sex as normative were likely the result of his own sexual experiences, first with the baby sitter when he was three (Van Zandt, 1991: 79). Berg's early sexual experiences included "genital manipulation by a female adult; oral copulation by that same adult; frequent masturbation; and sexual intercourse with a cousin" (Kent, 1994: 146). The Jones sisters also were familiar with Berg's childhood sexual experiences with his nanny, as he outlined them in the MO Letter "My Childhood Sex" (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: xiv).

The sect does admit sexual abuse of minors, although the sect downplays the abuse by stating, "mistakes were made" (Chancellor, 2000: 106). The Children of God/The Family continues to blame individuals for failing to live up to the highest ideals of the Law of Love — instead of admitting doctrinally sanctioned child sexual abuse (Chancellor, 2000: 107). Lord Justice Ward, however, saw the Law of Love:

> 'To be a pernicious doctrine because in liberating the ordinary sexual inhibitions, the Law of Love empowers those with strong sexual urges but poor judgment to act indiscriminately and it put pressure upon the weak to succumb to that which does in fact harm them and infringe their freedom. In short, the Law of Love was liable to be abused and was calculated to be abusive' (qtd. in Freckelton, 1998: 16).

The second-generation was fully encouraged to live up to the Law of Love, especially concerning sexual sharing (Shepherd and Shepherd, 2005: 79). One disciple admitted to Chancellor, "there was nowhere to draw the line" (2000: 114). The most frequent claim of sexual abuse made by the Jones sisters is that sect doctrine forced them to sexually share with adults (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 30-33, 65-67, 68, 167, 171, 180-181, 192-194). Even if abuse within the sect was not widespread (conflicting reports make it difficult to ascertain the extent of it globally), child sexual abuse certainly occurred, and it would be irresponsible and unethical to devalue the experiences of those abused second-generation members.

Conclusions about the Jones Sisters' Allegations of Child Sexual Abuse within the Children of God/The Family

From 1988 to 1990, the Family purged literature of highly offensive and suggestive materials, such as the Story of Davidito, and Heaven's Girl (Chancellor, 2000: 101, n.5, 132). The Family also purged the King Arthur Series (in which Maria provided flirty fishing instructions). Noah admitted, "Father David was afraid if he left them in the homes, people would have a strong desire to continue or begin the FFing ministry again" (Chancellor, 2000: 112-113, n.8). Interestingly, to go through the act of purging literature is an indirect admission of its contribution to child sexual abuse and exploitation. Purging the literature, however, continues to raise questions instead of ending discussion about child sexual abuse within the group. For example, since Family literature is equal in doctrinal weighting to the Bible, how can The Family abruptly declare any doctrine, including child sexuality, false? Additionally, this purge does not 'undo' the abuses suffered by second-generation members, although it may decrease or eliminate sexual abuse of subsequent generations.

By focusing on the new policy, researchers must be wary not to dismiss the second-generation affected by older policies of child sexuality, like the Jones sisters. For example, Amaal, age 22, remembered "first having sex when [he] was twelve. The girl was a lot older [. . .] She wasn't a kid, that's for sure" (Chancellor, 2000: 224). The young women Chancellor spoke to were "more emotionally invested" in the issue of the "harmful effects of adult sexual contact with children" than their male peers (Chancellor, 2000: 224). Although Chancellor did not provide any follow-up questions, perhaps the second-generation females suffered more abuse than their male counterparts. Virginia recalled her uncle fondling her when she was seven or eight, while her father was away from her colony (Chancellor, 2000: 225). Virginia also recalled "lots of very graphic pictures of naked sex in the lit back then, and a fair amount of nudity in the homes" (Chancellor, 2000: 226). Cindy, age 21, recalled sexuality among adults not only being prevalent, but overt:

> 'The adults would have this dance, then all pair off and have sex. Us kids would just wander around, taking it all in. A lot of times the place was crowded, so all the adults couldn't find private space. They would just have sex right out on the grass, as we kids were playing around them. We just thought it was funny' (qtd. in Chancellor, 2000: 228).

Additionally, the teens and YAs who lived through the most permissive sexual times, either do not talk about it anymore, or have left the Children of God (Chancellor, 2000: 226).

The evidence supports the Jones sisters' allegations: MO Letters encouraged child sexual activity, adults positively reinforced child sexuality, and as a result, both their peers and adult members of the group sexually abused the girls. The only allegation that did not have any corroborating evidence was Juliana's allegation of rape. The lack of evidence to support this claim does not necessarily mean the claim is untrue, since besides Juliana, the two males involved would likely be the only other persons able to support or refute the allegation. In sum, corroborating evidence, including a variety of academic sources, collected over a broad span of years and from a wide variety of group colony locations, supports the Jones sisters' allegations of sexual abuse against second-generation members of the Children of God/The Family, which lends overall credence to their autobiography.

Spiritual Abuse Allegations:

Another major factor in the Jones sisters' defection was spiritual abuse. On the one hand, Berg psychologically manipulated sect members, such as the Jones sisters, into remaining in the sect by outlining the horrors of outside society. On the other hand, the hypocrisy of group leaders Berg and Maria contributed to an overall critical questioning of faith, which subsequently led to the Jones sisters' defections. This section examines additional evidence from other sources in order to see if allegations of spiritual abuse outlined in the Jones sisters' autobiography receives independent confirmation.

According to Davis, Berg "stifled the creative mental powers of his followers. They no longer have to think for themselves" (1984: 203). Davis alleged that the sect socialized the children to believe that Berg was God's Endtime Prophet; to doubt this doctrine was the work of the devil (1984: 49). For example, when the Old Church/New Church policy emerged, Berg's children (including Davis) went before him, bowed, and "confessed that [they] believed [Berg's] words were from God" (Davis with Davis, 1984: 58). Similarly, the

Jones sisters allege the sect taught them that doubting Berg was the influence of the Devil, and that doubt would disappoint Jesus (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 24, 171, 276). Also similar to Davis's experiences, the sect encouraged Celeste Jones to pray against defectors (listed on their Worldwide Prayer List), which included her mother (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 110, 253).

In some ways, however, the Jones sisters were more fortunate than other higher-profile second-generation members. For example, Rodriguez (whose name was Davidito in the group) experienced a unique form of spiritual abuse, which involved carrying the burden of being the role model for the second generation and the "Prophet Prince" (Lattin, 2007: 143). The Jones sisters remembered adults instructing them that Davidito was the ideal second-generation member (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 385). According to Rodriguez, he struggled with the realization that his peers did not have parents who would "'try to brainwash you with the fact that they were God's anointed prophets and to go against them meant you were going against God'" (qtd. in Lattin, 2007: 143). It is interesting that Rodriguez uses the term 'brainwash,' because the Jones sisters allege that sect leaders specifically used the term 'brainwashing' to refer to the purpose of the teen camps (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 83). Like the Jones sisters, the sect discouraged Rodriguez from forming his own counter opinions, by instilling fear of enduring God's wrath.

According to sect doctrine, the Devil is responsible for doubt, or doubt is a test of commitment from God (Van Zandt, 1991: 159). The sect accused defectors of letting God down (Van Zandt, 1991: 162). Worse yet, the sect taught members that demons possess critical apostates (Van Zandt, 1991: 162). Van Zandt's evidence supports the Jones sisters' allegations that the sect referred to critical apostates as 'Vandari,' who supposedly are evil, bloodsucking demons (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 337). Additionally, the sect taught second-generation members that since the End Times were imminent, they should not expect to live to adulthood (Chancellor, 2000: 36). As one member in Chancellor's study noted, "'we do not even face questions like pensions, retirement plans, how or where we will live when we all get old. I have built absolutely nothing for any future here on this Earth'" (qtd. in Chancellor, 2000: 36). This interview supports Juliana's claims that she was preoccupied by thoughts that she did not have long to live (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 24). The future, therefore, is incredibly unstable for second-generation members, but perhaps even more dire for first-generation members who have remained in the group.

The Jones sisters also allege the sect taught them to feel superior to outsiders (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: ix, 22, 83, 256). Indeed, as his daughter indicated, Berg "saturated [his followers] in feelings of spiritual pride and superiority" (Davis with Davis, 1984: 44).

Berg feared that outside society was under the influence of Satan, although all the world's material resources were ultimately still God's (Chancellor, 2000: 162). The sect believed itself to be God's End Time Army, and have "full right to those resources as their needs arise" (Chancellor, 2000: 162). Heaven's Children, New Heaven's Children, and Heaven's Girl all describe key roles for teens during the current millennium (Van Zandt, 1991: 171). Reliance on the MO Letters as a primary source of knowledge supports the Jones sisters' explanations that God and his spiritual army were a very real part of everyday life for the second-generation (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 24).

The current Children of God/The Family consciously strategizes to maintain positive public relations. Unlike the Jones sisters, who criticized the "Consider the Poor" ministries as a way to abuse charity for the sect's gain, Chancellor was convinced that the program establishes relationships with pre-existing charities, such as battered women's shelters (Chancellor, 2000: 247; Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 373). According to Lilliston, members are "encouraged to interact freely with community residents" (1997: 72). Nevertheless, sufficient evidence exists that is independent of the Jones sisters' autobiography that group members had an elitist, entitled image of themselves that likely led to the exploitation of a charity program ostensibly for outsiders.

Conclusions on Allegations of Spiritual Abuse

The Jones sisters' allegations of spiritual abuse directly contrasts Chancellor's (2000) and Lilliston's (1997) arguments that the Children of God/The Family did not spiritually harm its second-generation. Specifically, the sect allegedly did not create an 'us vs. them' mentality. In contrast, Davis with Davis (1984), Van Zandt (1991), Wangerin (1993), Whitsett and Kent (2003), and Williams (1998), are in line with the Jones sisters' allegations that indeed Berg fostered a fear and mistrust of 'Systemite' society. More evidence, including former first-generation experiences of Deborah Davis (1984) and Williams (1998), suggests that, again, the Jones sisters are 'telling the truth' in their allegations of spiritual abuse.

Some claims made by the Jones sisters, however, do not have any evidence to either support or refute their claims. For example, the MO Letter admitting his alcoholism does exist ("My Confessions," #1406), although none of the secondary sources mentioned it as an example of hypocrisy, like the Jones sisters did (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 47). Additionally, no supporting evidence exists that Berg went through a period of only using spoons (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 64). Sect practices of Open Heart Reports did appear in the independent material that I consulted, which again supports the Jones sisters' allegations of public confessions (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 40, 225; Kent, 2001: 363-364; Ward, 1995: 150). Additionally, Lattin supported the Jones sisters' allegations that the sect initially presented Rodriguez's suicide as him being under the influence of the Devil, then later recanted, claiming that Rodriguez had reconciled with Jesus (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 384-385; Lattin, 2007: 200-201). As far as the Jones sisters' claims that the Bible contradicts Berg's interpretations of it, only Davis with Davis (1984) supported these allegations (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 382-383). Davis and Davis, however, are born-again Christians. In conclusion, like their allegations of physical and sexual abuse, independent evidence mostly supports — and does not contradict — the Jones sisters' allegations of spiritual abuse, thereby increasing their reliability as apostate accounts.

Familial Abuse Allegations:

Davis's experiences support the Jones sisters' allegations that the Children of God/The Family repeatedly rearranged family units, actions that I identified as constituting familial abuse. At twenty-four, Berg forced Davis to reject her mother, and acknowledge his mistress, Karen Zerby (internally renamed Maria) as his legitimate 'New Wife' (Davis with Davis, 1984: 51-60). This Old Church/New Church prophecy resulted in Maria coexisting with Berg's biological family unit in a twenty-eight foot motor home (Davis with Davis, 1984: 53-55). Berg told his fourth wife, Rachel, to leave her child in Texas when she left for Oklahoma with him; Berg justified the action claiming, "God will take care of [the child]" (Davis with Davis, 1984: 102). Deserting one's family was acceptable and even encouraged in the Children of God/The Family, so long as the first-generation member was "serving God" (Davis with Davis, 1984: 110). Leadership even encouraged first generation members to leave their families, then, in order to perform group assignments. Berg was blasé about the caretaking of the thousands of children in the sect stating, "Oh, just let the Colonies take care of them. Everyone can be a mommy and daddy!" (Davis with Davis, 1984: 191). Davis's experiences reflected the Jones sisters' claim that Berg viewed second-generation members as belonging to the sect, and not to their biological parents (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 118).

Freedom in Homes, which was a policy during 1978, involved movement of disciples, marriage without consent, and opening sexual relations as a way of maintain tight leadership control (Van Zandt, 1991: 50). Berg wrote, "as far the Bible says, for us there is no such thing as adultery!" (Berg, 1979: 5010). "Sexual sharing [was] the most explicit expression of the community ideal, and the ultimate demonstration of Family unity" (Chancellor, 2000: 111). These examples reinforce the Jones sisters' allegations that Berg's goal was to replace family loyalty with loyalty to the sect (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 6).

With sexual sharing and a lack of birth control, children exploded into the group's far-flung homes (called colonies). Outside of a general notion of collective responsibility for the children, often no one was clear about who was to care for them. Celeste Jones noted that often older teenagers within the sect were responsible for caring for the younger children (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 61). As late as 1990, however, primarily teachers and helpers raised the children, because parents had to do other assignments in order to fulfill Family duties (Maria, 1990: 615 qtd. in Kent, 2004: 58-59). This parental irresponsibility over child care obligations again reflects the Jones sisters' allegations that the teen training camps in one way acted as a dumping ground for second-generation members, so that first-generation members could focus on their work for the sect (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 68, 148, 202).

Berg's discouragement of childrearing as a priority is clear. He wrote, for example:

> Special favoritism and partiality — that is, selfish property interest! If you love your flesh-and-blood children more than you love God's children of God's Family, then you haven't come to the realization of what God's Family is all about! (Berg, 1972: 1370).

Chancellor even observed how "it also appears, at least in some instances, the infants and toddlers were construed as obstacles to the task of getting the message out before The End" (2000: 170). Additional evidence, therefore, is consistent with the Jones sisters' allegations that not only did their father 'abandon' them with other members, but also that he at times did not know physically where they were (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 124, 316). Beyond question, the Children of God/The Family hindered parents from serving as primary caregivers to their children, due to completing duties that the group itself placed upon the adults.

Children raised in these confusing social settings "may not even understand the concept of family nor even know who their biological parents are" (Whitsett and Kent, 2003: 492). Children were "often left behind at nurseries, boarding schools, and communal farms" while their parents were out witnessing and litnessing (Kent, 2005: 120). With many alternative religious groups, parents become "middle management," carrying out orders from leaders even if it goes against their parental instincts (Whitsett and Kent, 2003: 493). Kent's research is in keeping with the Jones sisters' claim that leadership sent their little brother, Victor, to live with a childless couple (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 62).

Conclusions on Allegations of Familial Abuse

Again, information in many secondary sources corroborates or at least resembles all of the claims of familial abuse made in their autobiography. It appears that Berg intentionally set up policies to weaken second-generation ties to their parents, which often involved splitting families up geographically. Additionally, leadership enforced sect 'ownership' of children, by keeping them in teen camps, limiting contact with their parents, and distracting their parents with work for the group. Just like the abuses against personhood, the Jones sisters' allegations of familial abuse appear to be accurate, and not exaggerated 'atrocity tales.'

Educational Abuse Allegations:

As emphasized by the Jones sisters, the Children of God/The Family largely educated its children internally, including teaching staff and curriculum. On the one hand, teaching the children internally established consistency across the sect as an international group, instead of different education systems depending on what country a colony was in. On the other hand, the Jones sisters' autobiography raised questions about the quality of education that the second-generation receives.

Kent (2005) supported the allegations that sect-provided education is sub-par. According to Kent, "first-generation converts frequently make the education of the second generation insufficient to ensure their loyalty into their own child-bearing years" (2005: 119). The home-based education system in the Children of

God/The Family is limited to eight grade; further education "is on an individualized basis" (Lilliston, 1997: 59; Palmer, 1994: 7). Wangerin wrote, "it was clear that academic pursuit, intellectual curiosity, and independent research were not important educational goals" (1993: 119).

Education, however, is still highly tied to group ideology. Teaching new concepts involves using MO Letters and Family history, with the sect providing additional educational resources (Van Zandt, 1991: 59). Children also learned from "videos and skits that extolled The Prophet as the very model of a true Christian" and "boot camp style training and indoctrination events" (Chancellor, 2000: 210). The Family views children not as future astronauts, for example, but as ideal receptors of the MO Letters, since the children's "minds have not yet been corrupted and clouded by secular education" (Van Zandt, 1991: 122). The impending End Times also takes priority over long-term educational planning (Shepherd & Lilliston, 1994: 62). Giving advice on childrearing within the sect, Sara Davidito wrote, "'the most important things for the children to be learning [were] witnessing, the Word, music, learning languages, and then the other scholastic things'" (qtd. in Wangerin, 1993: 119). The "other scholastic things" remain unclear, and apparently undervalued. "Part of the preschool curriculum in COG was preparing for public appearances" (Wangerin, 1993: 132). These examples support Kristina Jones's memories of her education consisting largely of memorizing verses from the Bible and MO Letters before bedtime (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 191).

Berg's eldest daughter, Deborah Davis, also suffered from educational abuse, like the Jones sisters did. Davis's education began in public school, but by Grade Three she had switched to Bible classes only (Davis with Davis, 1984: 79, 81). The level of education she attained is unclear, although she alluded to her eight-grade graduation (Davis with Davis, 1984: 184). The sect's millenarian beliefs contributed to de-emphasizing education: "the end was coming soon, so who needed an education?" (Davis with Davis, 1984: 41). The major factor in Davis's educational abuses was her absence from school, due to her proselytizing efforts. Disciples witnessed up to twelve hours a day, which was time spent away from school (Davis with Davis, 1984: 83). Children were especially encouraged to witness/litness because they naturally brought in more money than did less-evocative adults (Davis with Davis, 1984: 105). The children's public singing and litnessing initially supported the hand-to-mouth existence in the sect (Davis with Davis, 1984: 141). The lack of consistent schooling, like that which occurred with the Jones sisters, indicates second-generation members in the Children of God/The Family were victims of educational abuse.

As Davis's experiences indicate, the Children of God/The Family viewed secular education with suspicion from early in the sect's history. According to Van Zandt, the group saw its task as replacing the "lies" instilled by the "godless modern education system" with simpler "truths" of MO Letters and the Bible (1991: 151). An early sect application openly stated, "'[The Children of God] have declared War of the Spirit on the system's Godless school, Christless churches, & heartless Mammon!'" (qtd. in Wangerin, 1993: 63). This educational philosophy supported Celeste Jones's allegations that her educational resource was the True Comix series published by the sect (Jones, Jones, and Buhring, 2007: 25). Part of the problem with secular schools, according to the group, was that the permissiveness within public schools reflects the Devil's use of them to spread lies (Kent, 2004: 59).

Conclusions on Allegations of Educational Abuse

The Jones sisters' claims of educational abuse generally are consistent with an overall neglect of education and overemphasis on sect dogma (such as the MO Letters). The majority of secondary sources appear to confirm the Jones sisters' allegations of educational abuse. In contrast, the sympathetic academics who argue the group did an exceptional job educating its children (Lilliston, 1997: 74; Palmer, 1994: 5) directly contradict interviews done with second-generation members. Additionally, the methodologies of these studies are seriously flawed. In conclusion, secondary sources support the Jones sisters' allegations, making their claims of educational abuse valid and trustworthy.

Children of God/The Family: Conclusions

The abundance of evidence supports nearly all of the Jones sisters' allegations of abuse, which subsequently lead to their defection. The Jones sisters claims, often supported through allegations from other second-generation defectors, as well as through academic research, suggest that Shepherd and Shepherd are mistaken to suggest that "boredom, fascination with the forbidden, and rebelliousness" are the primary reasons for second-generation defection (2005: 86). The overall reason for second-generation defection from this sect appears to be its history of child abuse.

Studies reflecting the positive aspects of raising children in the Children of God/The Family require critical examination. For example, a closer look at Lilliston & Shepherd's 1996 study of psychological assessment of children in The Family blatantly ignored the BI case (Buening, 2003: 2). Additionally, of the thirty-two participants in the study who claimed that no sexual abuse occurred, some left the movement and subsequently claimed that abuse had occurred (Buening, 2003: 2). Either participants lied during the study (which, given The Family's propensity for Media Homes, is not a far-fetched assumption) or they lied after leaving the group. Even if currently they are lying about abuse, the fact that they would be motivated to discredit The Family does suggest the second-generation has reason to feel animosity towards the group. Lastly, Lilliston and Shepherd had "contractual status" with The Family during their 1996 study — which naturally calls their objectivity into question (Buening, 2003: 1). Lilliston admitted in his 1997 study, which concluded that communal homes positively influenced child rearing, that — because of the sample size of fifty-two participants and the small number of homes — "generalization to the population of Family homes and children from this one study may be somewhat limited" (76). Lattin (2007: 107-111) reviewed the work of sympathetic researchers Millikan, Melton, Lilliston, and Shepherd, and found grave methodological flaws in their work. Additionally, one key weakness in Lilliston's work was his access to Rodriguez (long before his murder/suicide), which helped him to conclude that children in the sect are healthy, happy, and educationally advanced (Lattin, 2007: 107-111). It seems likely that the group has used academics to discredit claims of abuse, especially considering second-generation defectors consistently have reported child abuse.

The 'apostate debate' resurfaced with the attention generated by Rodriguez's murder/suicide. Maria issued a statement through Family spokesperson, Claire Borowick, emphatically denying the incest allegations (Lattin, 2007: 184). Borowick's statement refers to the incest allegation as "recently hatched apostate tales" (qtd. in Lattin, 2007: 184). Maria's partner and male sect leader, Peter Amsterdam, released his own statement that claimed Rodriquez only became negative towards the sect after he "'started having a lot of contact with some very vindictive apostates'" (qtd. in Lattin, 2007: 184). Independently collected evidence, however, consistently supports the Jones sisters' 'apostate' autobiography. The idea, therefore, that apostate accounts are not trustworthy simply is false regarding the Jones sisters' account of their experiences within the Children of God/The Family.

The Rajneeshees

The academic and related material on the Rajneeshees is much smaller than what exists about the Children of God/The Family, but we still are able to test many of Guest's claims in relation to independent sources. By his own account, Guest (2004) suffered from physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional/psychological abuse, spiritual abuse, familial abuse, and educational abuse. I am able to test many of Guest's claims about child mistreatment.

The 'Share a Home' program initiated by Rajneesh, for example, constituted psychological and emotional abuse since it put Guest, who generally was an unattended child, in the same environment as drug addicts, former criminals, and war veterans with known mental problems (Guest, 2004: 207). Rajneesh intended to use the indigents to add to the population base of Rajneeshpuram, therefore increasing the group's power in local elections (Carter, 1990: 211; McCormack, 1987: 291).[95] The group drove buses to "virtually every major metropolitan center," and recruited from shelters, missions, and unemployment offices with promises of providing basic needs, and free sex, beer, and cigarettes (Carter, 1990: 211-212). Carter alleged the Rajneeshees stockpiled Haldol, a powerful tranquilizer, to assist them in controlling/shaping the new recruits (Carter, 1990: 212). Carter's evidence, therefore, supports Guest's allegations that the Share-A-Home program endangered the group's children.

Although Guest did not directly experience sexual abuse as the result of growing up in the Rajneeshees, he did admit the sect exposed him to sex at an early age. Guest alleged that he witnessed adults having sex (2004: 85, 132; see McCormack, 1987: 182), and other children having sex with adults (2003: 198-199). Guest also alleged that Rajneesh encouraged adults to initiate children into sex (2004: 133; see McCormack, 1987: 182). According to Carter, Rajneesh differed from earlier east-west hybrids, in that he based his movement in Tantric practices, where "sexual energy was seen as the fundamental source of all human energy and repression of this energy as the source of most individual problems" (1990: 3). Although Carter claimed "no personal verification of any of these matters, all sannyasin writers are consistent in their claims that no "'rules' or constraints were imposed on sexual practices in Poona" (1990: 57). For example, one former first-generation member, Satya Franklin, recalled "one six-year-old ashram girl delighted in grabbing men's genitals through their robes" and "another offered to suck the penis of every man she saw in the public showers" (1992: 108). Moreover, it was common for young teenagers, from twelve to fourteen, to be sexually active (McCormack, 1987: 181). Independent evidence, therefore, that supports Guest's claims about the group's open sexuality policy and its probable affect on children.

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[95] The group "later denied any tie between the program and political ambitions" (Carter, 1990: 211).

The Rajneeshees also emotionally/psychologically abused its second-generation members through frightening them with nihilistic predictions. Guest alleged the sect believed in the imminent end of the world (2004: 170). Clarke also noted Rajneesh preached that "failure to achieve a world transformation of consciousness (to create a 'New Man') within the next two or three decades would inevitably result in a nuclear holocaust ('World War III')" (1988: 35). Additionally, Guest found the AIDS testing of all sect members, including children, to have been very frightening (2004: 177). Strelley noted that although the Rajneeshees were commendable for instilling safe-sex practices (to combat

Rajneesh's fear of AIDS), the group was unique in that everyone actually practiced safe sex, "because the belief [was] stronger than any resistance" (1987: 244). Carter claimed that "commune health services falsified AIDS exposure tests to justify physical isolation for members who expressed 'negativity'" (1990: 203-204). Guest's anxieties over both apocalypticism and the AIDS testing were grounded in communal realities verified by independent sources.

The Rajneeshees also allegedly spiritually abused its second-generation members through the deification of its leader, Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh. Guest explained how images of Rajneesh were ever-present, such as in malas and large photographs (2004: 87). In his own earlier research, Clarke said much the same things about pictures that Guest later claimed, indicating that Rajneesh required all disciples to wear malas, even as the sect displayed his portrait on every published lecture cover and in large lecture halls (1988: 38). Furthermore, Clarke explained how "Bhagwan" means "the blessed one," a title Rajneesh deliberately assumed (1988: 33). Rajneesh also claimed "superiority to all previous buddhas and holy men" (Clarke, 1988: 34). Some followers compared Rajneesh to Buddha, Christ, or Mohammed (Carter, 1990: 33, 43). Although the children learned very little about Rajneesh, it is clear that the group viewed him as a divine being, which he did everything to encourage.

Guest's autobiography largely focused on the absence of his mother's presence, since her sect duties demanded the majority of her time. Guest claimed that Rajneesh encouraged parents to let the commune raise their children so that they could focus on their sectarian jobs (2004: 73, 93). At the group's Oregon compound, Rajneeshpuram, Rajneesh "encourage[d] people to think of themselves and their own actualization first, and those who already had children were usually informed that their offspring would be a drain on the collective" (Goldman, 1999: 29). Rajneesh believed the children were the property of the commune, not their parents (Guest, 2004: 93; Halperin, 1989: 11; McCormack, 1987: 184). Research psychiatrist James S. Gordon noted that at Rajneeshpuram, "the children are housed in quarters away from their parents, with minimal adult supervision" (1987: 105). Like Guest, Gordon explained that children "deflect[ed] too much attention from the task of building the community" (1987: 105-106). One former member, who now has a BA in psychology and a Master's in Social Work, stated "there [was] a tremendous amount of child neglect going on there at Rajneeshpuram" (qtd. in McCormack, 1987: 181). It is clear that the sect occupied the majority of adult members' time, either though meditations, therapies, organizing group events, as well as running the communes. Guest spent much of his childhood, therefore, free of structure (2004: 196).

One reason for the lack of parent/child connection was that Rajneesh discouraged adults from having children. For example, leadership pressured adult members to undergo sterilization (Carter, 1990: 65; McCormack, 1987: 184). Lewis Carter estimated there were no births at Rajneeshpuram between June 1981 and June 1987, which is notable considering the majority of adult members were young and highly sexually active (1990: 122-123). The indirect evidence, therefore, supports Guest's allegations that a consequence of his mother's membership was neglecting him.

This lack of structure contributed to what Guest alleged was non-existent educational standards. In Pune, India, he alleged that adults left the children on their own to explore, with no education (Guest: 2004, 35). Once he moved to the sect compound in England, he alleged there was no structured curriculum, with English and math being the only subjects taught (Guest, 2004: 76, 98). Additionally, Guest alleged that that no adults enforced school attendance (2004: 99). Guest also alleged the sect did not get into trouble with school inspectors because adults coached the children on how to respond to their questions (2004: 98). At Rajneeshpuram, however, the group filed for permission to build a private school for fifty children (Carter, 1990: 139). Carter noted that the sect's children eventually 'took over' the local school in Antelope, with Antelope citizens relocating their children to a nearby district (1990: 182, 187).[96] Initially, the school's programming, "School Without Walls" "involved students in hands-on learning at various corporations at Rancho Rajneesh [Rajneeshpuram]" (McCormack, 1987: 184). The Oregon State School Superintendent, Verne Duncan, shut the school down, since it benefitted a religious organization, and ordered the school to resume traditional methods of classroom instruction (McCormack, 1987: 184). Therefore, independent sources support Guest's descriptions about a lack of educational programming.

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[96] "The non-sannyasins in the Antelope school district had not wanted their children to be taught by 'followers of the Bhagwan'" (Gordon, 1987: 125).

Like the Jones sisters' allegations, independent sources almost completely support Guest's allegations with the exception of one source, which claimed "there is no evidence of child abuse in the [Rajneeshee] movement" (Puttick, 1997: 142). The majority of sources, however, support Guest. Where independent evidence is lacking (for example, about educational neglect), scholarship itself might be at fault, simply having neglected the issue. Independent sources overall, however, support Guest's allegations of child sexualization, parental neglect, spiritual abuse, and emotional/psychological abuse. Guest's autobiography, therefore, is a valuable resource, and lends credibility to defectors' accounts.

The Unification Church

Hong's allegations against the Unification Church are more difficult to verify, since she was a member of Reverend Moon's inner circle, and thus led a lifestyle vastly different from average members. Hong's autobiography alleged she suffered from physical abuse, emotional/psychological abuse, spiritual abuse, familial abuse, and educational abuse.

Hong's allegations of physical abuse differ than other second-generation accounts, because sect dogma did not support such actions. Instead, since the perpetrator was her spouse, Hyo Jin, the physical abuse initially appeared to have been spousal abuse, and therefore not necessarily indicative of her alternative religious group. Unification Church dogma, however, held up Hyo Jin as an example of spiritual perfection, and Reverend Moon and his wife either ignored the abuse or blamed Hong herself for what their 'perfect' son inflicted on her

(1998: 8, 97, 110). In short, the self-proclaimed messiah and his wife were facilitators of the spousal violence against their daughter-in-law.

Hong alleged that Hyo Jin was a cocaine addict (1998: 3, 6-7, 97-98). She also accused Hyo Jin of being addicted to pornography, drinking alcohol, and gambling (Hong, 1998: 3, 4, 93). The Watchman Expositor supported Hong's accusations of Hyo Jin's alcohol and drug abuse, even though Moon preached that true families were a "solution to drug abuse and alcoholism" (Waldrep, 1996: 3). Hong also accused Hyo Jin of having affairs (1998: 6, 106-107, 120-121). No sources, however, have mentioned Hyo Jin's affairs, either to support or deny the allegation. Additionally, Hong alleged Hyo Jin repeatedly beat her throughout their marriage (1998: 156-158).[97] Robin March, who was the Public Affairs Director of the Unification Movement in the UK verified Hong's allegations that one of Moon's sons had a heroin and cocaine addiction (Barrett, 2001: 210).

Hong also suggested that Reverend Moon slapped his children on occasion (1998: 102). As with Hyo Jin's alleged affairs, no independent evidence exists which suggests that Moon hit his children. Only his inner circle, however, would be privy to witnessing any domestic abuse. Conclusions about the personal conduct of the Moon family, therefore, are difficult to verify, due to lack of existing, independent evidence. The Unification Church, however, supports Hong's allegations that Hyo Jin was an addict, which also lends credibility to

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[97] Hyo Jin was sentenced to eighteen months probation after pleading guilty to "violating a court order prohibiting him from contact with his wife and children" (McNamara, 1996: n.p.).

Hong's allegations that he was abusive, especially when under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol.

The most commonly cited abuse in Hong's autobiography was spiritual abuse, specifically the deification of Moon and his family. According to Hong, Moon proclaimed himself Lord of the Second Advent, and eventually proclaimed himself and his wife, Emperor and Empress of the Universe (Hong, 1998: 4, 148). Hong also alleged Moon claimed he could communicate directly with Buddha, Jesus, and Moses (1998: 19). In July, 2002, Moon launched an advertising campaign in at least forty-seven American newspapers, that included the 7,000 word statement entitled, "A Cloud of Witness: The Saint's Testimonies to the True Parents" (Kent, 2003: 94).[98] This statement supports Hong's allegations on Moon's self-deification. For example, the document "purports to be a proclamation written in heaven" by religious leaders, such as "Jesus, Confucius, Mencius, the Buddha, Muhammad, and Shankara" and by Communist leaders, such as "Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin, and Deng Xiao Ping" (Kent, 2003: 94). Secondary religious figures, such as Abu Bakr (for Islam), St. Augustine (for Christianity), and some Christian apostles (such as Peter and Paul) also accompany the religious leaders. This document, therefore, supports Hong's claims that doubting Reverend Moon was equivalent to doubting Jesus (1998: 16). Independent secondary evidence thus supports Hong's allegations of Moon's self-deification.

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[98] "A Unification Church organization, The Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, continues to provide this statement on the Internet" (Kent, 2003: 94).

Hong alleged that Moon also deified his family. She recalled learning about the 'True Children' in Sunday School, and how they were flawless beings (Hong, 1998: 5, 20, 47). Moon delivered a sermon where he explained to the second-generation how his children were the first Blessed Children, since they are the offspring of the 'True Parents', Moon and his wife.[99] Hong also alleged that Moon elevated his deceased son, Heung Jin, to King of Heaven (1998: 136-137). I could find no evidence to support or refute this claim. Hong's allegations of spiritual abuse by Reverend Moon, overall, however, appear to be valid.

Hong also alleged that Moon intentionally split up families; constituting familial abuse. Hong explained how Moon separated children from their parents, so they could focus on their work for the church, leaving other adult members to care for them (1998: 33-34). Flore Singer Aaslid, a non-'Blessed Child'[100] second-generation former member, estimated she had between twenty and fifty caregivers by the time she was eight, since her parents were busy working for the group (Aaslid, 2003: 2). One former member explained how Moon encouraged parents to not be attached to their children because they came from "satanic relationships" (Singer, 2003: 255). According to Hong, some of these children ended up in orphanages (1998: 35). Additionally, Moon allegedly placed some children with childless couples in his favor (Hong, 1998: 139). Although these claims of 'child shuffling' are difficult to verify, one newspaper profiled Mobile,

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[99] <http://www.tparents.org>.

[100] 'Blessed Children' is the term referring to children born from Blessed Couples. Blessed Couples are marriages arranged by Moon. According to group dogma, the marriage 'decontaminates' the children of these couples from Original Sin (Aaslid, 2003: 4).

Alabama, where "three couples from three separate countries" came to give birth, and then "give custody to two [Unification] church leaders" (Garrison, 1989: 16A).Therefore, independent sources verify Hong's claims that Moon divided families.

The Unification Church did not deprive Hong of education, and in fact financed her college education (Hong, 1998: 128, 154). Hong noted that she attended the Little Angels school in Korea, which the group runs (1998: 51; Clarke: 1988). Aaslid, in contrast, did not discuss her schooling, but recalled "standing on street corners selling flowers with [her] mother" (2003: 4). This activity suggests her school attendance was limited. Hong noted, however, that her schooling primarily consisted of rote memorization, and not on developing critical thinking skills (Hong, 1998: 55-56). No evidence supports or denies this allegation.

In conclusion, independent evidence supports the majority of Hong's allegations. For example, Hyo Jin clearly was abusive and an addict of drugs and alcohol, and Moon very much demonstrated his self-deification. Allegations of the Moon family's misconduct amongst themselves, however, are not verifiable. As a member of Moon's inner circle, however, Hong would have witnessed behavior not displayed among general disciples. As one reviewer noted, "because of Nansook's unique position in the Moon family, cult apologists cannot dismiss her story as mere 'atrocity tales,' as they do with other ex-member accounts" (Rudin, 1999: 66).

The Great White Brotherhood/The Family

Since the Great White Brotherhood/The Family was based in Australia, the sect received no attention in North American sectarian scholarship. Few sources, therefore, exist either supporting or discrediting Hamilton-Byrne's allegations of abuse. Hamilton-Byrne has alleged she suffered from physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional/psychological abuse, spiritual abuse, and educational abuse within the group.

Hamilton-Byrne accused adult disciples of regularly beating the children (1995: 21, 39, 44, 46-52). According to Hamilton-Byrne, the Aunties, under Anne's orders, also starved the children, and punished them for sneaking food or gaining weight (1995: 13-14, 22, 65-67, 75-80, 82, 131-134). Additionally, she accused the sect of drugging the children, with heavy doses of vitamins, tranquilizers, valium, LSD, nitric acid, and hallucinogenic mushrooms (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 71-72, 141-143, 149). Anne forbade medical help when the children were ill, accusing them of faking their illnesses (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 72). Anne, however, did take them to a chiropractor, who allegedly contorted the children while they were under anesthetic (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 73-75). Hamilton-Byrne, therefore, accused the sect of multiple incidents of physical abuse.

Although I could find no academic sources to support or refute Hamilton-Byrne's claims, media articles covering Anne Hamilton-Byrne's trial support Hamilton-Byrne's accusations. For example, Anne "coddled her dogs and cats, but beat and starved her adopted children" (Goulding, 1993: 4). According to Australian journalist, Marie Mahr, the Aunties disciplined the children with wooden sticks, or by dunking their heads in tubs of dirty water, or by starving them (Goulding, 1993: 4). One former adult member also claimed his children "'were beaten with sticks, made to go without meals as punishment, [and] to sit cross-legged in total silence for four hours at a time" (Take a Closer Look, 1987: 11).

Hamilton-Byrne also accused the group of a form of sexual abuse — extreme prohibitions against anything perceivable as sexual. According to Hamilton-Byrne, Anne forbade the children from even looking at their bodies in the shower, and regularly accused them of being promiscuous or secretly masturbating (1995: 23, 109). Hamilton-Byrne also was uncertain, but believed an adult male member may have molested her, and that during her initiation, another adult raped her (1995: 74, 88, 144-145). Although I could find no evidence of sexual initiation into membership, Anne initiated adult members into the group with yoga classes and LSD (Goulding, 1993: 38; Korten, 1993: 14; Take a Closer Look, 1987: 11)..

Anne also allegedly emotionally/psychologically abused the children in the Great White Brotherhood/The Family. The adult members called the children names, and publically mocked them (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 36, 133, 140). Anne taught the children that they were below animals, and inherently evil (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 15, 63). Mahr also noted that Anne blamed her pets' illnesses on members having evil thoughts (Goulding, 1993: 38). Anne also threatened to remove visiting privileges to their favorite adult, 'Baba', and forbade the children from having friends (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 30, 18, 96). Kathy Nash, a spokesperson from 'Baba's' group, the SYDA Foundation, verified the children's relationship with Baba, and also claimed Anne took away their visiting privileges when he expressed concerns about the children's treatment (Goulding, 1993: 38). Hamilton-Byrne also alleged the sect psychologically harmed the children by forcing them to listen to their 'siblings' beatings, witnessing their beatings, and having Anne threaten them with death (1995: 48, 50, 100). Clearly, the adults in the group physically abused the children, as Hamilton-Byrne claimed.

According to Hamilton-Byrne, Anne deified herself, believing that she was Jesus reincarnated (1995: 39). Media sources support this deification claim (Daley, 1993: n.p.; Goulding, 1993: 38; Mele, 1993: 3). Hamilton-Byrne also claimed Anne told the children she could read their thoughts and dreams (1995: 104, 112). Anne also threatened the children that if they left the group, the police would kill them, or she would curse them with death (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 121, 174, 176).

Educationally, Hamilton-Byrne acknowledged that although Anne provided the children with on-site schooling, etiquette training, and bonuses like piano lessons, she limited the subjects to which she exposed the children (1995: 20-29, 31, 92-93). Since the children did not attend public schools, the sect also isolated them from other children (Hamilton-Byrne, 1995: 153, 157). One media report noted the children received private tuition with the approval of the Education Department (Take a Closer Look, 1987: 10). Perhaps this is why Hamilton-Byrne claimed the adult members rehearsed the children to lie to school inspectors (1995: 97). The sporadic and mixed evidence supports Hamilton-Byrne's own confusion about the quality of schooling, since although the children appear to have been educated, their education was somewhat limited.

In conclusion, Hamilton-Byrne's claims of physical, emotional/psychological, spiritual, familial, and educational abuse are supported by independent media sources. In general, the media coverage of the sect focused on adult members, and the group's normative use of LSD. Therefore, the evidence to support Hamilton-Byrnes's claims is small, yet notably, I did not find any evidence to refute her claims.

New Age Movement

Ptolemy Tompkins's claims are difficult to verify, since he was the only child living within the loose-knit New Age group his father unintentionally ended up leading. Additionally, Tompkins's autobiography makes few claims. Easier to find supporting evidence of is Tompkins's father's interest in New Age pursuits, such as uncovering Atlantis, searching for ancient Egyptian secrets, and levitation (Tompkins, 197: 1, 8, 262). For example, searching for "Peter Tompkins" in Google provides a link to buy his books, like Secrets of the Great Pyramids.[101]

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[101] <http://www.google.ca/search?hl=en&q=peter+tompkins&meta>.

Drawing conclusions about Tompkins's claims, therefore, is nearly impossible considering he was the only child in his father's loose-knit commune.

Hindu Mysticism

Similar to Tompkins, since Masson's guru's group was loose knit, there exists no evidence from other second-generation members to corroborate his claims. Under P.B.'s instructions, Masson claimed his family went on crank diets and fasts (1993: 29-30, 34). P.B. also allegedly promoted sexual abstinence, yet permitted adult/child bathing (Masson, 1993: 39, 63-64). I could find no evidence of any misconduct from P.B. Moreover, I could find no evidence detailing everyday practices for P.B.'s disciples. Masson's allegations, therefore, are not necessarily discredited, and in fact may be the only source of how P.B.'s disciples applied his teachings. Like Tompkins, the lack of any evidence indicates that Masson's allegations cannot be accepted nor dismissed.

Early Mormon Church

Eliza Ann Young provided a very different view of early Mormon Church history than later official accounts, which tend to romanticize Mormon history. One reason for this different view may be that researchers operating out of Brigham Young University have a stake in promoting and protecting the Church. For example, in 1994, "the percentage of non-Mormon professors at [Brigham Young University] hover[ed] around 2 or 3 percent" (Waterman and Kagel, 1998: 257, n.207). Moreover, in a memo leaked to the Associate Press, administrator Alan Wilkins wrote, "in assessing the relative strength of competing candidates, no factor is more important than deep religious faith and loyalty to the church" (Waterman and Kagel, 1998: 244). Furthermore, Wilkins instructed, "we should not hire people who are a threat to the religious faith of our students or a critic of the church and its leaders" (Watermand and Kagel, 1998: 244). Therefore, it is unlikely that scholarship from BYU would support Young's allegations, especially those against her husband, Brigham Young, whom the University is named after.

Another difficulty supporting Young's allegations is that since her autobiography is relatively old, the people whom she mentions who might have been able to support her claims (such as her mother or Brigham Young's other wives), are dead. Moreover, only two other sources acknowledged that Ann Eliza Young (Webb) was one of Brigham Young's wives, who later divorced him and "lectured widely against the Mormons" (Arrington, 1985: 333-334; Compton, 1997: 34-35). Leonard Arrington's account, however, of their divorce proceedings supports aspects of Young's account of marriage, thereby lending credibility to her autobiography (1985: 373).

Young claimed that Brigham Young was an abusive husband (1876: 402, 407-408), but I am unable to find independent evidence to support or refute this claim. Arrington indicated that Young divorced her *first* husband for cruelty and neglect, while "Brigham appears to have been a reasonably fair and generous husband" (1985: 334, 345). Brigham's many wives, however, might explain the contrast between Young and Arrington's views of Brigham Young as a husband.

Young also alleged that Brigham Young was a man prone to cruelty, mocking the complaints made from fellow members, and publically mocking others (Young, 1876: 393, 433). Arrington also suggested "Brigham found it difficult to deal with people who were perplexed by what he regarded as minor decisions" (1985: 199). As his wife, it is likely Young would have heard Brigham's complaints. Young also alleged that Brigham Young cared very little for the physical needs of his flock. She mentioned how the group lived at times in poverty, with little food, and using antelope skins for clothing (1876: 128, 129). Sally Denton also claimed that the early church faced a financial crisis (2003: cover page).

Brigham Young also allegedly discouraged his members from accepting medical care (although he sought out doctors for his own illnesses), instead encouraging healing through the laying of hands (Young, 1876: 124, 350). Young claimed Brigham Young viewed members' illnesses as a personal affront, and doctors as not worthy of heaven (1876: 350-35, 475). Arrington supported Young's allegations that Brigham Young "lacked confidence in Gentile male physicians" (1985: 366-367). According to Arrington, Brigham Young viewed doctors as a "set of ignoramuses" and encouraged members to rely on anointing with oil and the laying on of hands for healing (1985: 366). Arrington further alleged that a lack of medical training for Mormon midwives resulted in the deaths of children, which only then led to Brigham Young recognizing the need for medical training for midwives (1985: 367). Arrington's evidence therefore, supports Young's allegations of medical neglect.

Young also alleged that Brigham Young's rule was absolute (1876: 308, 363). For example, he encouraged members to disregard the US government in favor of complete and total allegiance to the Church, and therefore, himself (Young, 1876: 368). Campbell acknowledged, "whether the Mormons were loyal to the United States at the time of their exodus from Illinois is especially difficult to assess" (1988: 201). Brigham Young also apparently taught members that Gentiles were evil and immoral, and other world religions are false (Young, 1876: 264, 367). Campbell explained, "the general policy was to treat the outsiders kindly, to deal with them if they did not compete with Mormon merchants, but to discourage social contact" (1988: 52). Campbell's evidence suggests that Young correctly claimed that Brigham Young did not support interacting with Gentiles. Brigham Young's perspective that those outside the group were evil also affected the group's educational policy, which actively discouraged school attendance (Young, 1876: 525). Brigham Young, however, hypocritically sent his sons to school (Young, 1876: 525). Arrington also noted that Brigham Young set up funding for Mormon schools specifically to combat Gentile control over schools in the area, whose presence "unnerved" him, even though he did send some of his sons East to schools (1985: 367-368). These additional sources, therefore, support Young's allegations of educational abuse.

Outside of allegations against Brigham Young, Young alleged the early Mormon Church abused its members. For example, Young wrote of the Reformation, when leaders aggressively questioned members, using intimidation tactics to get members to admit their sins (1876: 186). Campbell, in contrast, cited the Reformation as "a large scale program of rebaptism and rededication to religious principles, including personal cleanliness and a concern for orderliness in homes and communities" (1988: 181). According to Arrington, "during the Reformation of 1856 the Saints got carried away by the hellfire and damnation sermons [. . .] and few felt justified in participating in the Mountain Meadows Massacre" (1985: 300). All three sources acknowledge the Reformation took place, yet differ greatly in their explanations of what exactly occurred. Young also implies that during the "Reign of Terror" some members voluntarily sacrificed themselves under the policy of "Blood Atonement" (1876: 268). The policy of Blood Atonement suggested that souls can be redeemed through the shedding of blood, especially apostates' blood (Young, 1876: 187, 279). Mormon scholar, Eugene E. Campbell, acknowledged the existence of the doctrine of Blood Atonement, but in contrast to Young, claimed "no presently reliable evidence demonstrates that it was practiced officially" (1988: 199).

The most explosive allegations about Brigham Young refer to murders of critical apostates under his orders. Young alleged the Church eliminated its critics, but blamed 'Indian attacks' (1876: 161). Young additionally claimed the Church made death threats against potential apostates (Young, 1876: 288). Young, therefore, accused Brigham Young of masterminding the murders of the Aiken party, Yates, Lobbs, and Thomas Williams (Young, 1876: Ch. XV, XVI, 286-287). Few sources exist to verify these allegations. For example, the Hon. John Cradlebaugh of Nevada gave a speech referring to the Aiken party murders and the Mountain Meadows Massacre, where he stated he was "justified in charging that the Mormons are guilty, aye, that the *Mormon church is guilty, of the crimes of murder and robbery as taught in their books of faith"* (1863: 17, italics in original).[102] With the Yates murder, William P. MacKinnon, an independent historian, confirmed Bill Hickman was not only responsible for his murder, but publically admitted so in 1871 (2007: 144). This evidence supports Young's claim that Bill Hickman was the 'Destroying Angel,' and responsible for carrying out these murders (1876: 264-265). Although there is no evidence detailing Bill Hickman's involvement in any murders, he was one of the closest associates of Brigham Young, and Arrington refers to him as one of Brigham's "Mormon thunders" (1985: 32, 34, 36-37, 300). I could find no evidence of the Lobbs murder, but Arrington mentions Thomas Williams as a leading merchant, which lends credibility to his existence [ie Young did not make the name up] (1985: 355). Although few sources exist, those that do support Young's allegations that Brigham Young masterminded murders, therefore contributing to emotional/psychological abuse of members who were fearful of him.

Ann Eliza Young also claimed that Brigham Young was responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre (Young, 1876: 248-249). In contrast, Campbell claimed local Mormon leaders decided not to wait for Young's advice on how to best respond to the immigrants, and decided themselves to attack the immigrants, fearful that they would spread word in California that the Mormons and Indians were working together to attack immigrant trains (1988: 250). Campbell claimed Brigham Young wrote to let the immigrants pass through unharmed, but his letter arrived a day too late (1988: 250). Even though Young and Campbell cite opposing evidence about Brigham Young's involvement in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the fact that the details of the attack correspond between Young and Campbell lend validity to Young's account. Further lending credibility to Young's account is scholar, Sally Denton, who supports Young's allegations that Brigham Young "bore significant responsibility [. . .] impelled by the church's financial crises, facing increasingly intense scrutiny and condemnation by the federal government, incited the crime both by word and deed" (2003: cover page). Arrington also suggested that Brigham Young was somewhat correctly implicated during the trial for planning the murder, and developing a cover-up (1985: 257-260, 278-280, 385-386).

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[102] <http://www.olivercowdery.com/smithhome/1860s/1863Crdl.htm#B1457b>.

Besides accusing Brigham Young of illegal and immoral activities, Young also accused Joseph Smith, the founder of the group, of inappropriate behaviors. For example, she accused founder Joseph Smith of an attraction to young women and promiscuity (1876: 70-71). Of founder Joseph Smith's thirty-three wives, one-third were between the ages of fourteen and twenty (Compton, 1997: 11). Even Campbell admitted to the "distressing" portion of Mormon history, when many men were asking Brigham Young for permission to marry girls too young to bear children (1988: 198, n.5). Perhaps polygamy was an attempt to legitimize Joseph Smith's lust (Compton, 1997: 11-15). According to Young, plural marriage began in the group's first settlement in Nauvoo, prior to leaders publically announcing it as dogma (1876: 290). Campbell acknowledged that "Joseph Smith had initiated this complex marriage system in Nauvoo and perhaps even earlier in Kirtland, Ohio, but only a few trusted church leaders had been allowed to practice it before 1847" (1988: 163). Arrington also noted some evidence that Smith initiated plural marriage in Kirtland, and began to practice it with some associates while the church leaders (the Twelve) were recruiting in England (1985: 100). Like Young, Arrington also noted that members did not wholly embrace the practice of plural marriage, with some members mounting hostile campaigns against the "abominable" practice (1985: 101). Young also noted that during the Reformation, plural marriage became extreme, including intermarriage [ie. one woman with two husbands, also known as polyandry] (1876: 310, 320). Todd Compton supported Young's claim, noting that eleven of Smith's wives were already married when he married them (1997: 15). Compton also supported Young's allegations that Smith married (and was sexually active) with his wife's adopted daughter, which would be his step-daughter, Fanny (1997: 34-35, 4).

Young was also vocal in her objections to polygamy, which she claimed most women in the early Church did not like as well. She alleged that the doctrine of polygamy resulted in an increase in suicides among female group members (Young, 1876: 310). According to Young, leadership taught that opposition to plural marriage was selfish, and was also in opposition to God's will (1876: 100, 136, 139, 290-292, 307). Polygamous men, however, were not encouraged to be involved with parenting, which church leadership ironically did not consider to be selfish (Young, 1876: 406). Arrington's research supports Young's allegations that Brigham Young's wives "reared their children without his presence," with the exception of mealtime prayers (1985: 172). The Biblical support for polygamy comes from Hagar giving her husband Abraham a second wife, Sarah (Arrington, 1985: 100-101; Young, 1876: 291). She cited her personal example that Brigham Young still thought of himself as a bachelor, no matter how many wives he had (Young, 1876: 390). At fifty-seven, Brigham Young had twenty wives, four of whom had died (Arrington, 1985: 322). Young claimed Brigham Young manipulated her into marrying him to save her soul and the souls of her family (1876: 498). Joseph Smith initiated this spiritual manipulation, when he promised the husbands of his initial plural wives "spiritual rewards as a result of the marriages" (Compton, 1997: 21). Campbell acknowledged a significant number of polygamous marriages ended in divorce, yet he also noted that many of the wives got along well, implying the majority enjoyed polygamy (1988: 167-168).

In sum, Young alleged physical abuse, emotional/psychological abuse, spiritual abuse, familial abuse, and educational abuse within the early Mormon community. Independent evidence supports most of Young's allegations, and no evidence definitively refutes Young's additional allegations. Young's autobiography, therefore, seems to be an accurate and rare source depicting life in the early Mormon Church.

Conclusions: Evaluating 'Apostate' Literature

The 'apostate debate' outlined in Chapter 3 questioned whether or not former members' accounts of life in alternative religious groups are truthful. Those researchers against trusting 'apostate' accounts argued that the anti-cult movement influenced apostates into creating "atrocity tales" (Barker, 1998: 82; Bromley, 1998b; Bromley, Shupe, and Ventimiglia: 1979; Johnson, 1998: 186; Lalich: 2001; Lewis: 1995; Palmer, 1998: 206; Shupe: 1998; Wright, 1998: 100).

One major weakness in their arguments are critical accounts like Young's (1876), which detail negative aspects of alternative religious life long before the 'anticult movement' of the 1970s. Sympathetic researchers additionally attacked apostate accounts for "wag[ing] a political campaign against [new religious movements]" (Wright, 1998: 102). By their own accounts, the authors in the sample are very clear in that they are only speaking out about their abuses within their former specific alternative religious group. Significantly, not one author in the sample rallied against new religious movements in general.

Sympathetic researchers also made the critical error of either downplaying or ignoring accounts of child abuse. For example, Palmer and Hardman referred to the idea that children are victimized in these groups as "hackneyed" (1994: 4), and Lewis and Melton dismissed child abuse accusations as "an emotionally-charged excuse for persecuting a minority religious group" (1994: vii). Additionally, Lilliston and Shepherd's research concluded that the Children of God/The Family was not abusive, and a wonderful educational environment (1997: 63; Lilliston and Shepherd: 1994) directly contrasts the multitude of independent evidence that supports the Jones' sisters allegations.

In contrast, researchers in favor of incorporating apostate accounts into research appear to have had their arguments verified that apostate accounts are rich and valid sources of information on alternative religious groups. For example, Melton and Moore's criticism that anti-new religious movement sources are "shallow and full of errors" is simply false, as this chapter demonstrated (1982: 172). Lalich's criticism that current members' 'front-stage behaviors' may have fooled some researchers appears to be accurate (2001: 125).

In conclusion, I found five autobiographies in the sample to be accurate, detailed accounts. Masson and Tompkins did not have any evidence to either support or refute their claims. This chapter, therefore, supports the use of 'apostate accounts' as valid sources of information on alternative religious groups. Those researchers in favor of using apostate accounts, therefore, appear to have 'won' the 'apostate debate,' especially concerning using second-generation defectors' accounts. Those against using apostate accounts fail in their arguments, since they are arguing a philosophical view (ie. new religious groups should be encouraged), while ignoring facts (ie. child abuse does occur in some alternative religious groups, and therefore, these groups should be exposed as negative religious institutions). Moreover, this chapter suggests that relying on current members' testimonies for research is likely less accurate than relying on ex-member testimony. Independent evidence strongly supported the second-generation autobiographies, which suggests that the factors I outline in second-generation defection in my conclusions are credible.

Chapter 6: Discussion

Introduction

Second-generation disaffiliation is a critical factor facing many alternative religious groups. Successfully retaining second-generation members is crucial for ongoing group survival. The autobiographies in this study reflect that defection is a complex process, often involving overlapping personal and institutional abuses. Rarely is one factor singularly responsible for second-generation defection.

I chose not to discuss how second-generation members who have defected 'cope' with their new lives. A thorough review of 're-integration' is large enough to sustain its own study. Re-integration, however, often posits many challenges for defectors, and therefore I discuss it briefly here. For example, Williams reflected, "for those who joined as adults, reorientation into the world was always difficult, but for children raised in the cults, it was traumatic" (1998: 260). Second-generation members may additionally have trouble integrating due to learned helplessness, which produces "guilt, self blame, and dependency" (Freckelton, 1998: 6). Lord Justice Ward during the BI case noted, "I am troubled that there seems a woeful lack of appreciation of just how terrifying it is for a child to contemplate leaving the group and entering into the 'system' world in the context of the group's teachings" (1995: 174). Second-generation defectors additionally face "major adjustment difficulties because they have no precult moral system to which then can return" (Langone and Eisenberg, 1993: 337-338, qtd. in Whitsett and Kent, 2003: 498). Identifying factors pertaining to second-generation defection, therefore, is only part of the process of defection from alternative religious groups.

Due to the nature of the sample, my conclusions only can focus on an initial proposal of factors leading to defection. Based on the results obtained from grounded theory analysis, I have developed a factor-based model[103] to help explain second-generation defection from alternative religious groups. Since the scope of this sample was small, conclusions are merely suggestive and cannot yet be generalized broadly. In the discussion section, however, I provide additional examples from second-generation defection literature that support the reliability and validity of my proposed factor model.

A Proposed Model for Second-Generation Defection

Based on this initial investigation, I suggest the following model accounts for second-generation defection from alternative religious groups. Not all four categories account for second-generation defection: I suggest that a minimum of three categories must be present for the model to successfully explain second-generation defection. I intend for the model to account for factors involved in second-generation disaffiliation – which researchers have not yet explained. The factors outlined in the model appear to override strong socialization by the alternative religious group in contrast to Hood et al, who claimed that if parents de-emphasize religion in the home, then they are more likely to raise an apostate (1996: 98). Also, it is critical to note that even though some groups (such as

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[103] I use the terms 'model' and 'theory' interchangeably. I conceptualize the two from a scientific perspective, where a theory is a testable model, verifiable either through experimentation or empirical observations.

Hamilton-Byrne's group) second-generation defection was not voluntary, but through forcible removal by authorities, the factors outlined are still key in second-generation defection. For example, even though authorities forcibly removed second-generation members from the Great White Brotherhood/The Family, abuses of personhood (such as physical abuse) provided legal support for police intervention. Therefore, the factors outlined in the model still contributed to second-generation defection.

What the autobiographies suggest are commonalities among alternative religious groups relating to second-generation defection. The four emergent personal factors relating to defection appear to be physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional/psychological abuse, and spiritual abuse. The two emergent institutional abuses relating to defection appear to be familial abuse and educational abuse.

The Four-Factor Second-Generation Defection Model:

A) Abuses of Personhood.

These include factors outlined in this thesis such as physical, sexual, emotional/psychological, and spiritual abuses.

B) Social Institutional Abuses.

These include familial abuse and educational abuse.

C) Contact with Outside Society.

This factor includes examples such as receiving public education, contact with authorities such as police or child protective services, and/or regular contact with non-members. The autobiographies suggest that steady or increasing contact with outside society is affiliated with second-generation defection. Unstructured contact, like friendships outside the alternative religious group, appear to be more significant predictors of second-generation defection than structured contact. For example, the Children of God/The Family provided opportunities for structured contact with outside society through litnessing and Media Homes that did not appear to influence defection. With Hamilton-Byrne, however, structured contact with the police enabled her defection. More research, therefore, is required on this factor to distinguish between the type of contact and its influence on second-generation defection. I represent both in this Four Factor Model, since both forms were present in the autobiographies.

D) Religious Hypocrisy.

Religious hypocrisy refers to doubts and critical questioning about the legitimacy of the alternative religious group's leadership, and/or practices and beliefs. This category is separate from spiritual abuse, in that spiritual abuse focuses on direct abuse of the individual (eg. doubt is the Devil's influence), whereas religious hypocrisy focuses on the behavior of leadership (eg. getting drunk, while group dogma prohibits alcohol). Disillusionment with the alternative religious group leadership contributes to second-generation defection.

Evaluating Grounded Theory

Generating a new theory, such as the Four Factor Second-Generation Defection Model, requires evaluation in accordance to the methodology that generated it: grounded theory. Glaser suggested four criteria for evaluating grounded theory: fit, work, relevance, and modifiability (qtd. in Charmaz, 2000: 511). With 'fit,' Glaser suggested the categories must fit the data they represent (qtd. in Charmaz, 2000: 511). Using autobiographies to generate categories suggests fit. For 'work,' the new theory "must provide a useful conceptual rendering and ordering of the data that explains the studied phenomenon" (qtd. in Charmaz, 2000: 511). As indicated with the Four-Factor Model, testing whether the Model 'works' requires future research. I have included examples from one additional alternative religious group, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (herein after referred to by its 'common' name, the Hare Krishnas), to support the model's validity and reliability. With 'modifiability,' the newly generated model "is flexible because researchers can modify their emerging or established analyses as conditions change or further data are gathered" (Charmaz, 2000: 511). The factors in my model provide clear definitions from which to evaluate second-generation defection, and I encourage modifying these factors as new research emerges. Again, I must stress that with a limited number of sources, the model is still in its inception.

Case Example: The Hare Krishnas and Their Fit to the Four Factor Model

Theory generated by a grounded theory approach "should provide clear enough categories so that crucial ones can be verified in present and future research" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 3). Providing examples of second-generation treatment by another alternative religious group (the Hare Krishnas) helps to demonstrate two key strengths of my theory of second-generation defection from alternative religious groups: parsimony of variables and scope (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 111). I chose the Hare Krishnas since they had a large population of second-generation members. The literature on this group, however, does not focus on defection, but on overall experiences of life within the sect. Therefore, based on the large number of children in the group, as well as the research on second-generation experiences, the Hare Krishnas are an appropriate example to demonstrate the potential usefulness of the Four Factor Model. Please note that I do not intend the examples to be comprehensive, but more so an overview of how additional second-generation experiences with other alternative religious groups fit within the model, lending to its credibility.

An Overview of the Hare Krishnas

The International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) was founded in 1966 by Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada (Rochford, 2007: 2). The group's belief system is based on Hindu Vedic scriptures, bhakti (devotional) tradition, and an ascetic lifestyle including vegetarianism and "a life devoted to the Hindu god Krishna" (Rochford, 2007: 3). The Hare Krishna's are more commonly known for chanting the Hare Krishna mantra (Rochford, 2007: 3). Like the Children of God/The Family, the group has many international communities (Rochford, 2007: 3). The death of the founder in 1977 prompted the group's transition "from a communal structure that actively discouraged marriage and the nuclear family" to one that now embraces the nuclear family, and has increased the value of women and children as contributing spiritual members (Rochford, 2007: 3). This philosophical shift, however, occurred too late for the first group of second-generation children, who — under the 'old' philosophy — suffered abuses and neglect.

A) Abuses of Personhood

The Hare Krishna children often lived away from their biological parents in sect-run schools, that they called *gurukulas* (Rochford, 2007: 74). According to Rochford, "some of ISKCON's children were physically, psychologically, and sexually abused by people responsible for their care and well being in the movement's ashram-based gurukulas from 1971 until the mid-1980s" (2007: 74). For example, one disciple recalled her punishment for wetting the bed, which included a very hard spanking and an adult member forcing her to wear her contaminated panties on her head (Rochford, 2007: 76). Like physical abuse, sexual abuse was normative and extensive, with second-generation members reporting that they "didn't even consider it abuse back then" and that it "was just normal" (Rochford, 2007: 77). Linked with familial abuse, parents essentially dumped their children in gurukulas, where the adult caretakers were generally distant at best, and abusive at worst. The second-generation, therefore, suffered emotional/psychological abuse at the gurukulas (Rochford, 2007: 82-83). The adults also spiritually abused the children in the gurukulas. For example, one teacher used to threaten the children that Krishna might kill them while they slept, as punishment for not living up to their spiritual ideals (Rochford, 2007: 76). These examples provide a very slight overview of the extensive personal abuses within the Hare Krishna movement. The prevalence of these personal abuses, however, lends support for my Four Factor Model, since many second-generation members (who attended gurukulas) abandoned the Hare Krishna movement.

B) Social Institutional Abuses

The gurukula structure facilitated social institutional abuses (such as familial and educational abuses) against second-generation Hare Krishna members. Like the Rajneeshees and the Children of God/The Family, Hare Krishna parents "tried to counteract their lowly status by placing their commitment to ISKCON and Krishna Consciousness about their family obligations" (Rochford, 2007: 79). Their founder, Swami Praddhupada (1896-1977) preached "a campaign against householder life and women," which provided dogmatic support for familial abuse. The result was placing their children in the care of gurukulas, which many second-generation members viewed as parental abandonment (Rochford, 2007: 78). Second-generation members "felt invisible, abandoned, and unworthy of love and affection from both their parents and their adult caregivers" (Rochford, 2007: 78).

The gurukula structure also contributed to educational abuses. One second-generation former member, Dasa, compared his gurukula education to public school education [which he attended prior to gurukulas] (Rochford, 2007: 20). Dasa acknowledged that although the gurukula taught traditional academic subjects like English and math, the teachers emphasized spiritual training (Rochford, 2007: 20). Additionally, textbooks were significantly out of date, and not age appropriate, often geared towards young students (Rochford, 2007: 20). Before the late 1980s, even the absentee parents "began to question the quality of the academic education their children were receiving" (Rochford, 2007: 66). The gurukula structure, therefore, provides additional support for the 'social institutional abuses' outlined in my Four Factor Model of Second-Generation Defection.

C) Contact with Outside Society

The Hare Krishnas ideally removed themselves from participating in 'outside' society. Some second-generation members, however, attended public high schools, which according to my Model, makes these members more likely to defect. Rochford reported on the second-generation's initial difficulties in assimilating to the "common culture" (2007: 103). For example, one interviewee explained how she had to learn to laugh, ride a bike, and play baseball (Rochford, 2007: 104). Moreover, second-generation members had to navigate previous group teachings that nondevotees "were bad people" (Rochford, 2007: 104). Most significant to my Four Factor Model is Rochford's findings that:

> Youths who attended a public high school were much less likely to embrace an ISKCON collective identity as either a core or a congregational member. Moreover, one-fourth of those who attended a public high school rejected both ISKCON and Krishna Consciousness as a meaningful part of their identity (2007: 112).

These results support my inclusion of 'contact with outside society' as a factor pertaining to second-generation defection from alternative religious groups.

D) Religious Hypocrisy

Rochford detailed how religious hypocrisy contributed to defection, but his research in this area focused on first-generation members. As such, it indirectly contributed to second-generation defection, more specifically, second-generation former members who defected while still children. Unlike the groups in the autobiographies, first-generation members appear to have left because of dissatisfaction with leadership after the death of Prabhupada in 1977 (Rochford, 2007: 14, 162). Like the Unification Church, and the Children of God/The Family, for example, two former members criticized leaders for being "'self-motivated, stuck, and holding back progress'" (qtd. in Rochford, 2007: 164). Although the exact nature of the religious hypocrisy is unclear, Rochford concluded that the new leadership's "legacy of abuse, mismanagement, and spiritual corruption convinced many that ISKCON no longer represented a legitimate vehicle for realizing Prabhupada's teachings" (2007: 165). This spiritual disillusionment contributed to familial defection, and therefore, indirectly, second-generation defection.

Conclusions

Again, I must stress that the Hare Krishna examples provided are only a brief overview of a complex alternative religious group with a history of academic and independent publication. Significantly, all four factors of my model for second-generation defection are present within the group, which may help explain "the mass exodus of households from its communities during the 1980s" (Rochford, 2007: 216). Obviously, this Model represents an initial investigation of second-generation defection from alternative religious groups. What the Hare Krishna examples demonstrate, however, is the Model has the potential to be applied across a wide range of alternative religious groups, and therefore is potentially generalizable beyond the scope of the seven autobiographies in my sample.

Additional Recommendations for the Four Factor Model

One factor that is absent in the autobiographies were examples of the social institutional abuse sub-category of economic abuse. Secondary sources (those not written by second-generation defectors), however, consistently provided examples of economic abuse. I have included a case study of economic abuse of Children of God/The Family members in order to provide a more complete outlook on social institutional abuses. Economic abuse clearly requires further academic investigation.

Economic Abuse: An Example Using the Children of God/The Family

Poor economic decisions by their parents also impacts the ability for second-generation defection, specifically their ability to succeed in 'the System' if they choose to leave the Children of God/The Family. Economic abuse, therefore, is a logistic reason for remaining within the sect. Regarding the first generation, "There is no doubt. Family leadership financially abused these disciples in times past" (Chancellor, 2000: 164). Money earned by children and teens in The Children of God/The Family supported communally based living, similar to their parents' income (Chancellor, 2000: 165). For example, one popular method of earning income was through "singing in public and witnessing on a regular basis" in exchange for small donations (Chancellor, 2000: 165). Leadership did not permit members to keep the money they earned. Although no records have documented how much money the second-generation helped earn, over the group's thirty-five plus year history (considering the thousands of children involved), one can safely estimate The Children of God/The Family can attribute a sizable amount of its wealth through its exploitation of children's litnessing.

Children of God/Family homes are generally low-income, and tend to be full, past standard nuclear-family capacity. For example, "Family homes are always rented" (Chancellor, 2000: 159). The sect, however, pays the rent. For a loyal disciple, having rent paid is a wonderful reward, considering it is doubtful that litnessing would bring in enough money in a dual-income home to cover both rent and utilities (although one must also consider that depending on which country a colony is in, cost of living may be more affordable). For the second-generation, problems arise if their parents defect from the group. Parents virtually have no capital or financial resources to claim as their own — they all belong to the Children of God/The Family. Alternately, saving personal finances was not a priority, since the Children of God/The Family operated under a system of communal support. For example, from October 1970 to February 1973, smaller colonies spread out across the United States, resulting in "most colonies [living] close to the edge of economic survival" (Van Zandt, 1991: 42). One likely result is the first children of the second-generation grew up on or below the poverty line.

Gaining employment is additionally difficult for members of the second-generation who have left the Children of God. Although there "is no absolute prohibition on secular employment," [disciples generally] depend on God to supply their needs" (Chancellor, 2000: 160, n. 3). Depending solely on God ensures that parents, and second-generation members, acquire no marketable employable skills, or direct work experience. Moreover, unemployment or underemployment ensures that members must stay loyal out of economic necessity, or risk being destitute if they choose to leave the group. For example, Williams wrote how after leaving the sect with little education and financial bankruptcy, she sang on the streets with her children — she had five at the time — to help "pay for the children's clothes and other necessities" (1998: 238). Is this the fate that awaits families who have chosen to leave the Children of God/The Family after giving up years of their lives litnessing and witnessing for collective income?

A low-income, dependent lifestyle also fails to teach members of the second-generation money management skills. With members living "with little or no disposable income and few personal possessions" (Chancellor 2000: 164), second-generation members are not taught how to distinguish between 'wants' and 'needs,' since they generally have not had enough affluence to acquire 'wants'. This inability to distinguish between the two affects second-generation defectors, who are ill prepared for the commercial onslaught of the 'System.'

Additionally, with group finances directed by World Services, second-generation members have no knowledge of banking, interest, savings, or retirement plans. Moreover, the second-generation cannot rely on their parents for economic support, as many were encouraged to "forsake all" upon joining the Children of God/The Family. Although the policy is no longer literally enforced, many still "donate their free cash and valuable items of property to the colony" (Van Zandt, 1991: 68). Tellingly, average disciples live a lower standard of living than leadership, where "leaders did not forsake all every day" as the group preached (Wangerin, 1993: 82).

The sheer number of children in The Children of God/The Family also calls into question methods of financial support. Since Berg rejected any form of birth control as sinful (Chancellor 2000: 169-170), families often had many children to provide care for on a minimal to non-existent income. For example, who pays for visits to the pediatrician, and with what income? What about dental checkups — does the group provide them? For both to occur assumes that the

Children of God/The Family does provide adequate medical care for its children. The literature, including the Jones sisters' autobiography, does not discuss receiving formal medical care.

Furthermore, reliance on outside sources for income (namely through litnessing) suggests that the economy of whichever country the group is in, must be booming in order for sufficient numbers of people on the street likely to give spare change, or have enough elite members of society to support the sect. Wangerin provided an interesting point for further consideration, when she worried how the group will "support all those children in the United States during an economic recession" (1993: 167). The lack of consistent economic support raises additional questions whether the Children of God/The Family receives welfare, or some similar form of government support.

Additionally, the Children of God/The Family uses children's videos as a PR strategy to elicit a positive response to the group from the public. The group uses children's videos as a recruitment strategy world-wide (Chancellor, 2000: 165). Judging from the economic abuse of children, I am doubtful that the children participating in the videos receive payment for their work, and I doubt that the group pays the children any royalties from sale of the videos. This lack of payment is another example of economic abuse of the second-generation, which keeps them bound to the group for survival.

Like adult disciples, the policy of litnessing also economically abused second-generation members. For example, Sam, a disciple, took a seven-year-old girl with him when he went provisioning, as "she would quote verses and charm business-people into donating the materials Sam requested" (Wangerin, 1993: 132). This is another example of how the Children of God/The Family exploits children for the financial gain. Certainly, the strategy of using children paid off. The July 1976 New Nation News (a sect publication) reported how one seven-year-old distributed seventy pieces of literature in forty-five minutes, and won two souls, while a three-and-a-half-year-old passed out one hundred pieces in half an hour (qtd. in Wangerin, 1993: 134). Children's 'innocence' contributed to manipulating members of the public into accepting sect literature that they otherwise might not have taken.

The examples of economic abuse of second-generation members in the Children of God/The Family demonstrate that future research involving the Four-Factor Model takes economic abuse into consideration. Economic abuse may not contribute to defection, but may help explain why second-generation members remain in the sect, even with suffering the abuses outlined in the Four Factor Model.

Discussion

Identifying factors relating to defection also raises ethical concerns. For example, this thesis suggests that eliminating sexual abuse practices will encourage continuing second-generation membership. Alternative religious groups, however, that have doctrinally sanctioned childhood sexualization, such as the Children of God/The Family, are faced with either eliminating a part of their belief system in order to retain second-generation members, or maintaining their current belief system with the increasing likelihood of second-generation defection.

Additionally, one significant commonality among the authors was that increased exposure to 'outside society' (beyond their respective groups' orchestration or monitoring) encouraged defection. This finding suggests that alternative religious groups most successful at retaining second-generation members are those that consciously isolate second-generation members. Ethically, isolating second-generation members is a major concern for researchers and authorities, since these autobiographies allege multiple forms of child abuse occurring within alternative religious groups, which outside authorizes are likely unaware of.

With alternative religious groups, geographic and social isolation does not necessarily indicate abuse, but leaves second-generation members especially vulnerable to abuses. For example, a child in 'outside society' has more opportunities to report abuse to sympathetic parents, a teacher, or perhaps a police officer. In the groups represented in the autobiographies, these opportunities were rarely available. Additionally, some of the groups, like the early Mormon Church, demonstrated hostility towards outside agencies. Moreover, no internal agencies existed to monitor leaderships' behaviors. In sum, geographic and social isolation contributed to the vulnerability of the second-generation in these groups, as did the absence of internal or external checks upon leaders' and followers' behaviors.

The Four Factor Model outlined reasons for second-generation defection based on factors identified in the autobiographies. What remains unclear, however, is why other second-generation members continue to remain in their groups, if they have experienced the same abuse as those who defected. The 'apostate' literature solved this problem by suggesting that defectors invented atrocity tales of abuse. As the thesis has outlined, however, nearly all claims of abuse in the autobiographies are verifiable, thus effectively nullifying the 'career apostate' theory. So why do second-generation members choose to stay? Again, second-generation members may choose to stay for logistical reasons (i.e., they want to defect but do not have the available resources) or social reasons (the emotional ties override the negative abuse experiences). At this point, no theories or models explain the frequent choices among the second-generation to remain members. The availability of outside support, and contact with outside society, appear to be major factors, but more research is required in this area. Differentiating characteristics between second-generation members and defectors would additionally strengthen the validity of the Four Factor Model.

With only seven autobiographies, I must stress that the model is an initial attempt to formalize factors relating to second-generation defection. Many ways exist to expand this initial study and continue towards the end-goal of developing predictive measures of second-generation defection from alternative religious groups. The factors outlined above need to be tested against an expanded sample, likely including analysis of sources like academic interviews, television appearances, print media interviews, and website chat rooms. Factors that continue to gain supporting evidence would remain in the working Model, while factors that do not continue to receive evidentiary support would be rejected. Since it is in its inception stage, the Model is sufficiently flexible that researchers can add or eliminate factors. Additionally, the Model has the potential for researchers to apply it to third and fourth generation defection (for example, applying the Model to polygamous children and teens, who are now fourth-and-fifth generations). The implications are significant – survival of alternative religious groups depends on successful second-generation retention.

Using grounded theory methodology to generate the Four Factor Model also had limitations, some of which involved its requirement to approach initiating research from a non-theoretical standpoint. The inclusion of developmental social psychology theories, religious affiliation theories, and psychology of religion theories, however, would create a stronger 'final theory.' I recommend comparing each of these theoretical frameworks to my created Model, allowing researchers to build on the strengths of previous, possibly related research. This thesis represents, therefore, only a first step in working towards a new, comprehensive theory regarding second-generation defection from alternative religious groups.

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